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CONTRIBUTORS

Gerhard Podskalsky is professor of theology at Sankt Georgen, Frankfurt-am-Main.

Andrzej Poppe is professor of history at Warsaw University.

Jaroslaw Pelenski is professor of history at the University of Iowa.

Petro P. Tolochko is director of the Institute of Archaeology, the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Kiev.

Johan Callmer is a research fellow at Lund University.

Volodymyr I. Mezentsev is a research fellow at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.

Thomas S. Noonan is professor of history at the University of Minnesota.

Donald Ostrowski is a research associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.

David A. Frick is associate professor of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of California, Berkeley.

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted is a research associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Russian Research Center, Harvard University.

Stefan Kieniewicz is professor at the Institute of History, Warsaw University.

David J. Birnbaum is a research fellow at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University.

A Note from the Editors

Eight of the articles included in this issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* were presented at the McMaster Conference on the Culture of Kievan Rus', held at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, 31 May–2 June 1987, in commemoration of the millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine and of the centennial of McMaster University.

The initiative and the sponsorship for the conference came from the Very Rev. Roman Hankevych of the Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hamilton, Ontario, as his own and his parishioners contribution to the millennium celebrations. The conference was also sponsored by McMaster University and its Interdepartmental Committee for Communist and East European Affairs.

Support for and organization of the conference was provided by Peter J. Potichnyj, professor of political science at McMaster University, who, as conference coordinator and chairman of the organizing committee, was instrumental in bringing the conference to fruition. He was assisted by the members of the conference and organizing committees: Professors Miroslav Labunka (LaSalle College), Omeljan Pritsak (Harvard University), Ihor Sevcenko (Harvard University), George Thomas (Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee for Communist and East European Affairs, McMaster University), and John C. Weaver (Chairman, Centennial Committee, McMaster University).

Harvard Ukrainian Studies is pleased to publish those papers which met the scholarly criteria and the scope of the journal and which had not been published elsewhere, thus bringing together in one publication as many of the conference papers as possible. Those papers included here are the ones by Johan Callmer, Volodymyr Mezentsev, Thomas S. Noonan, Donald Ostrowski, Jaroslaw Pelenski, Gerhard Podskalsky, Andrzej Poppe, and Petro P. Tolochko. For technical reasons, the paper by Omeljan Pritsak appeared in volume 10, number 3/4 (December 1986) of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies.*

Omeljan Pritsak
Ihor Sevcenko

Principal Aspects and Problems of Theology in Kievan Rus'

GERHARD PODSKALSKY

In the course of a lecture on the literature of Kievan Rus', a historian of Russian literature—an expert on the early Middle Ages—suddenly expostulated: "Kievan theology—*is* there such a thing?" Good Protestant that he was, he associated the concept of "theology" with the two standard courses offered at universities today: historical-critical exegesis, and systematic and speculative dogmatics. If we take theology to mean this particular use of language, then in Kievan Rus' there was no such thing. If we nevertheless refer to "Kievan theology," we must use the concept in a more general sense, one that is more closely related to pluralistic, patristic modes of expression.[1] Then theology becomes a Christian, spiritual dimension belonging to disparate literary genres, with a heavy concentration in the areas of homiletics, hagiography, and ascetics, together with the liturgical poetry that embraces all three sectors.

The theology of Kievan Rus' is characterized by several limiting factors, for example, the often emphasized "falling away" from the classical tradition—Greek philosophy—in the old Slavic translations. But this theology possesses no specific characteristics, if we understand these to be themes or teachings absent from its principal source areas, either Byzantium or *Slavia Christiana.* My remarks are therefore concerned only with several known or supposed problem areas or principal themes that, within the frame of reference outlined, can be discovered in the literature that originated in Kiev. Any drawing of conclusions from these observations is, of course, provisional, due to the denial of access to the manuscripts.

I. PROBLEMS IN THE THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Whereas a whole series of disciplinary trials on matters of doctrine took place in the Byzantine church during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries—for instance, the trials of Johannes Italus and Eustratius of Nicea—it is remarkable that Kievan Rus' knew only a few, apparently minor, incidents of this kind. These include the temporary schism following the election (on

[1] On this, see J. Stiglmayr, "Mannigfache Bedeutungen von 'Theologie' und 'Theologen'," *Theologie und Glaube* 11 (1919): 296-309, especially 308f.

21 July 1147) of the second Rus'-born metropolitan, Klim Smoliatich; the debate over fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays (1157–68), which concluded with a compromise engineered by Constantinople and—the Rus' sources (Laurentian Chronicle, concerning 1164) to the contrary—cannot be called an actual "heresy"; and finally, the two examinations—ending in a total rehabilitation—of the eschatological sermons of the monk-priest Avraamii of Smolensk (ca. 1150–1220),[2] to which I will return later. I shall discuss these problem areas, as well as the polemics against the "Latins," who were essentially all living abroad in the West.

A. *Arianism*

Apart from the problem areas noted, Soviet and other researchers in both the East and the West have speculated that there were other doctrinal defensive battles, e.g., christological ones, that might have led to conflicts with Arian or Arian-sounding heresies. The initial impetus for these speculations came from the translation into Old Slavic (in tenth-century Bulgaria) of anti-Arian sermons, for which a current need was postulated,[3] and from Old Rus' sources containing Arian-tainted statements or polemical references to Arianism. The question is: by which avenue did Arian thought reach the Rus'? It is purely hypothetical to assume a connection here with the Arian Germanic tribes that had originally settled in Southwest Rus' (the Carpathians), for example, the Gepidae, who were conquered as early as 567. But we should consider the relevant passages in Kievan literature itself, first in writings by those suspected of Arianism.

To start with, we have the second of the two professions of faith that Volodimer is said to have made when he was baptized, namely, the one that

2 See G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982), pp. 43-50.

3 We are concerned here with four homilies by Athanasius of Alexandria, although the Rus' manuscripts are later, dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See A. Vaillant, *Discours contre les Ariens de S. Athanase* (Sofia, 1954), pp. 20-265; I. Dujcev, "Literatur und Kunst gegen 'Ariana haeresia' in Südost-Europa," *Slovo* 25/26 (1976): 203–211; I. Dujcev, "L'oeuvre de Methode d'Olympe 'De libero arbitrio' et les discussions entre orthodoxes et heretiques," *Balcanica* 8 (1977): 115-27, esp. 116, fn. 1; A. Milev, "Starobalgarskijat prevod na 'Chetiri slova protiv arianite'," *Starobălgarska literatura 2* (1977): 61–73; K. Kuev, "Arianstvo," in *Kirilo-Metodievska Enciklopedija,* vol. 1 (Sofia, 1985), pp. 103f. Even the reference to Bogomilism in Bulgaria cannot be proved.

The same dating holds for an anonymous Rus' sermon on the fathers of the Council of Nicaea, "Against the Heretic Areios." See I. Kupriianov, "Pamiatniki drevnei russkoi slovesnosti," in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia,* 1854, vol. 84, section 2, pp. 180-82 (edition from the Sbornik of the sixteenth century).

goes back to the Byzantine monk Michael Synkellus (ca. 760-846).[4] The version in the chronicles, which is presumed to be more recent than the translation in the *Izbornik Sviatoslava 1073 g.* (though not dependent on it),[5] contains several statements that are considered—due to the omission, interpretation, or translation of Greek terms—to be typically Arian, particularly the assertion that the Son is "*similar* in essence" to the Father (*podoben sushchen)* or the Holy Ghost "similar in perfection" to the Father and the Son (*podobnosversheno*), whereas the Greek original has the well-known term "ὁμοούσιος" for the Son and the Holy Ghost.[6] But a comparison with other declarations of the same professions of faith, e.g., the recognition of the ecumenical councils, leads to the conclusion that the translator in no way had in mind a total Arian purging of the Greek text; presumably the editor of the chronicle just used an extant form of the source text, where the "Arianisms" were attributable either to a corrupt source ("ὁμοίουσιος" for "ὁμοούσιος") or else to the translator's lack of concentration or skill.[7]

A passage in Kirill of Turov's first sermon to the monks also poses an apparent problem. There, in the explication of the parable of the halt and the blind, along with an allusion to Gen. 1:26f., Christ is called a man "not as an image, but as a likeness (*ne obrazom, no pritcheiu*)."[8] Are we to conclude from this, as have the authors of a recent study,[9] that here Kirill, who adamantly rejected Arianism in his canonical sermon on the Council of Nicaea (traditional for the Sunday after the Feast of the Ascension), himself fell victim to Arianism? Not at all, for Kirill was simply harking back to the exegesis (of Gen. 1:26f.) formulated earlier by Clemens of Alexandria and Origen: it sets forth the idea that man has to travel an upward path from

4 Edition: B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* (Paris, 1715), pp. 90-93; here 91-93.

5 See P. Potapov, "K voprosu o literaturnom sostave letopisi," *Russkii filologichnyi vestnik* 63 (1910): 1-13 (with a good bibliography); see also "The Troickij Sbornik," *Polata K''nigopis'naja* 21/22 (1988): 181f. (Napisanie o vere).

6 *Povest' vremennykh let,* in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 1 (Leningrad, 1926), col. 112 (rpt., *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1977). For a textual comparison, see M. I. Suchomlinov, "Issledovaniia po drevnei russkoi literature," *Sbornik Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti* 85, no. 1 (1908): 71-74; here 72.

7 N. Nikol'skii, "Materialy dlia istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti," pt. 1, *Sbornik Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti* 82, no. 4 (1907): 1-8; Potapov, "K voprosu." On the more general aspects of this issue, see A. Gezen, *Istoriia slavianskago perevoda simvolov very* (St. Petersburg, 1884) (=Očerki i zametki iz oblasti filologii, istorii i filosofii, 1).

8 K. Kalaidovich, *Pamiatniki rossiiskoi slovesnosti XII veka* (Moscow, 1821), p. 136 (rpt., *Kirill von Turov: Zwei Erzdhlungen* [Munich, 1964]); see also I. P. Erëmin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), 12 (1956): 342.

9 A. F. Zamaleev and V. A. Zots, *Mysliteli Kievskoi Rusi* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 104f.

a rough sketch (εἰκών, image) to that divine similarity (ὁμοίωμα-ὁμοίωσις, likeness) that is inherent in each of us but has to be created anew by every person—that is, the path of μίμησις τοῦ Χριστοῦ—whereas it was precisely Christ, as the self-same εικων του θεοῦ (Col. 1:15), who did *not* have to attain his divinity by that process of ever-increasing participation (μετοχή).[10] The two passages where hasty interpreters thought they had uncovered traces of the Arian heresy can be dismissed as evidence for this assumption.[11] But since no advocates of Arian heresies seem to have existed in Kievan Rus', even the warnings about Arians that are found in many literary works can only be understood as coming from the Byzantine tradition, rather than as responses to then current dangers. These warnings include Kirill of Turov's sermon on the 318 fathers of the Council of Nicaea, which, following the model of the Mother Church, found its appointed place on the Sunday before Pentecost in Kievan Rus' as elsewhere.[12] A further warning appears in a passage in the Rus' version of the "Wanderings" (*Khozhdenie*) of St. Nicholas of Myra, a father at the Council of Nicaea.[13] Finally, there is a *slovo* "On the Falling-away of the Latins" (referring to the intrusion of the word *fllioque* in the Latin Creed as

10 See the excellent study by H. Merki, 'Ομοίωσις θεῷ. *Von der platonischen Angleichung an Gott zur Gottähnlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1952) (=Paradosis, 7).

11 The situation was different in the second half of the fifteenth century when the then recently translated sermons of Athanasius (see fn. 3 above) could be used in Novgorod in the fight against heretics: cf. B. Fiona, "Greki-èmigranty v russkom gosudarstve vtoroi poloviny XV–nachala XVI veka: Politicheskaia i kul'turnaia deiatel'nost'," in *Russko-balkanskie kul'turnye sviazi* v *epokhu srednevekoviia* (Sofia, 1982), pp. 123-43; here 135f. Despite repeated claims to the contrary, made to the present day, for the pre-Mongol period we cannot name a single Bogomil with any degree of certainty; cf. Podskalsky, *Christentum,* pp. 44f.; K. Onasch's conjecture regarding Kirill of Turov (i.e., the connections with the history of heresy during the emergence of an anthropomorphic image of the Holy Trinity in Byzantine Slavic Orthodoxy, presented in "Ketzergeschichtliche Zusammenhange bei der Entstehung des anthropomorphen Dreieinigkeitsbildes der byzantinisch-slavischen Orthodoxie," *Byzantino-Slavica* 31 [1970]: 243, fn. 2) has not yet been substantiated.

12 See S. Salaville, "La fete du concile de Nicee et les fetes de conciles dans le rit byzantin," *Echos d'Orient* 24 (1925): 445-70. On the text of the sermon, see I. P. Erëmin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *TODRL* 15 (1958): 343-48. Kirill's sermon is based on an anonymous *slovo* (from "Zlatoust" or "Torzhestvennik") on the same topic: see Kupriianov, "Pamiatniki." This sermon, which concludes with an intercession for the Orthodox princes and the preservation of the faith from heresy, also mentions the legendary dispute of the 318 fathers of the Council with the pagan philosophers supporting Arius: see M. Jugie, "La dispute des philosophes païens avec les Peres de Nicee," *Echos d'Orient* 24 (1925): 403–410.

13 See Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 129 (on the editions of the above cited texts, see ibid., p. 127, fn. 584).

the cause of the schism of 1054),[14] which indirectly accuses the Western church of Arian leanings; however, the details of Byzantine church history embedded in the text lead us to suspect that a Greek cleric was its author.

B. *Double Faith* (Dvoeverie)

For the church of the Rus', the problem of a double faith was far closer to everyday concerns than were the speculative discussions about Christology and the Holy Trinity. Along with the major vices of usury, fornication, drunkenness, and violence—and often combined with them—the extremely long-lived evil of *dvoeverie* was among the most frequently attacked sins of newly converted Christians.[15] To be sure, a famous preacher like the abbot Serapion, later Bishop of Vladimir, could on occasion demonstrate to Christians *ad oculos* how exemplary the pagans' observation of natural moral law was,[16] but the continuance of pagan cultic or superstitious practices (e.g., sorcery) was roundly condemned by the church. As yet we have only fragmentary ideas about the old Slavic pagans—as we have about the not-yet-Christianized tribes of Central Europe—gleaned from Christian writings against them or contemporary Arabic sources,[17] but the common practice of *dvoeverie* has been clarified by artisan-made amulets, among other things.[18] In the original Kievan literature, *dvoeverie* can have two meanings: the concept usually refers to the simultaneous practice or merging of Christian and pagan cultic forms; but in several passages it also means an indecisive vacillation between the Latin and the Greek-Byzantine rite (in cities where

14 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 260f. (on the edition of the above cited text, see p. 259). On the problem of filioque, see my article, "Filioque," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 4, no. 3 (Munich, 1987), cols. 449f.

15 How deeply rooted non-Christian beliefs and reliance on the various forms of prophecy among the common folk really were, and would remain right into our own times, is shown in the Ukraine by the almost exclusively pagan customs surrounding the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle: see B. G. Mykytiuk, *Die ukrainischen Andreasbräuche und verwandtes Brauchtum* (Wiesbaden, 1979); see also F. Haase, *Volksglaube und Brauchtum der Ostslaven* (Breslau, 1939).

16 See Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 106 (*slovo* 5; on the edition of the text cited above, see ibid., p. 105).

17 See M. Esperonnier, "L'evolution cultuelle des Slaves du VII^{e} au XII^{e} s. suivant les textes arabes médiévaux. Croyances et rites," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale (X^{e}–XII^{e} s.)* 27 (1984): 319-27. But even though the Christian church issued repeated warnings about "forbidden books" *(otrechenniia knigi*—writings on sorcery, the use of medicinal herbs, astrology, auguries, etc.), mention of titles or censured passages was frequently omitted (except for the Apocrypha).

18 Concerning the "zmeevki," i.e., medallions worn around the neck and decorated with representations of Mary or the saints on one side and, on the reverse, with the head or body of the Medusa in a circle of serpents (hence the name "zmeevki"), see J. Blankoff, "Survivances du paganisme en vieille Russie," *Problemes d'Histoire du christianisme* (Brussels), 8 (1979): 29-44 (passim).

there were churches belonging to the two rites, e.g., Novgorod). Furthermore, a question discussed in the nineteenth century and even more intensely in recent Soviet historiography,[19] is whether Christianity destroyed a religious and culturally intact pagan world by "baptizing the Rus' " (in 988), or whether it simply replaced the vestiges of a pagan world that had already become an empty shell. The converse of this question revolves around the insoluble question of the depth of the nadir that the Christian religion reached in the first centuries of Rus' history and subsequently.[20] In light of the lack of source materials (particularly for old Slavic paganism, which is not the case for the Graeco-Roman world), we can hardly expect to find a universally acceptable answer to the questions raised here. Yet we can hope to contribute to the basis and quality of the discussion.

Of the written evidence for *dvoeverie*, which contains many parallels to the history of the conversion of the West European peoples,[21] only the most important documents are discussed here. Of small concern to us is the portrayal of mythological figures, pagan divinities and rituals, magic and festival customs, marriage laws, eating customs, and all those practices (prophecy, funeral feasts, etc.) typically belonging to the "double faith" as they are addressed in the sermons and church laws;[22] what is important is what the church could offer to counter against this ever-latent subculture. In the canonical questions and answers of the Novgorod deacon Kirik (b. 1110), Bishop Nifont threatened with a powerful "Woe [unto you]!" both the offerings of food to the nature gods Rod and Rozhanitsa and the violators of their prohibitions.[23] Regarding the blessing of the funeral feast *(kut'ia,* Gr.)—whose pagan origin led to its radical suppression in the

[19] Thus, for example, in Academician B. A. Rybakov's *Kievskaia Rus' i russkie kniazhestva XII–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 389-402; the relevant passage is taken word for word from the volume that appeared sixteen years earlier: *Istoriia SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei v dvukh seriiakh v dvenadtsati tomakh*, 1 (Moscow, 1966), pp. 500–511 (without footnotes!).

[20] See B. P. Miliukov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kul'turny,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1931), pp. 10-18, which surveys the treatments of the question in the nineteenth century.

[21] See Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 21, fn. 93 (quotations of Latin sources). On the most important literature concerning the East Slavic area, see ibid., fn. 94; also see H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek (w. VI–XII)* (Warsaw, 1979); M. T. Znayenko, *The Gods of the Ancient Slavs: Tatishchev and the Beginnings of Slavic Mythology* (Columbus, Ohio, 1980).

[22] A listing of all of these phenomena is given in E. V. Anichkov, *Iazychestvo i Drevnaia Rus'* (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 247-55 (the corrected version appears in K.-H. Kasper, *Die Predigtliteratur der Kiever Rus' als Spiegel der Zeit* [East Berlin, 1958; in typescript], pp. 151f.).

[23] L. K. Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrußlands* (Stuttgart, 1905), p. 244 (§33).

West[24] —the Old Rus' church at least tried to separate it clearly from the Eucharist, and from the chancel.[25] On the other hand, six weeks' penance awaited women who took their children to the "Varangian" (i.e., Latin) priest or the pagan magician to be blessed;[26] these women, too, were labeled as being "of two faiths" *(dvoevertsy).* Compared to Western canon law, the punitive measures in the Old Rus' canon law for remaining attached to paganism were decidedly mild. Metropolitan Ioann II of Kiev (1076/77-1089), in the name of "church doctrine"—and thereby differing from earlier dictates of Western and Eastern canon law—expressly rejected the corporal punishment of magicians and sorcerers ("witches"), even in cases of extreme recalcitrance; as an antidote he recommended "straightening out their thinking" (νουθεσίαις ἐπιστρέφειν) by stern rebukes.[27] That *parainesis* (exhortation) was the prime weapon in the fight against *dvoeverie* is evident from the relevant sermons, the majority of which are anonymous. Some of these were wrongly attributed to Feodosii Pecherskii: an admonitory sermon on God's punishment contains among other things a condemnation of minstrels *{skomorokhi)* and of the playing of *gusli* and *rusalias*,[28] as well as of chronic drunkenness, which was seen as a vestige of paganism. Another sermon "on the true faith" describes and condemns (following Elijah's fight against Baal, 1 Kings 18: 17-40) the frequent occurrence of *dvoeverie* among the neophytes who retained their faith in the pagan pantheon after being baptized ("worse than heretics and Jews"), as expressed—especially at weddings[29] —in games, songs, dances, and

24 See J. Quasten, "Vetus superstitio et nova religio," *Harvard Theological Review* 33 (1940): 253-66.

25 Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche. . Denkmäler* p. 249 (§38); also see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 93, 191, 267 (for textual/subject parallels to Goetz). On the other hand, the Byzantine church had taken over less insidious traditions from antiquity without any reservations, for example, saying the Mass for the Dead until forty days after a person's death; see Goetz, ibid., pp. 213f. (§3), 304 (§101: the same for the living), 322 (Sava §19: item). Also see E. Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* (Minister, 1928), pp. 172-78; D. Stiernon, "La vision d'Isaïe de Nicomédie," *Revue des etudes byzantines* 35 (1977): 30-36.

26 Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche. . . Denkmäler* p. 335 (Il'ia §16); p. 337 (§18).

27 Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche.. . Denkmäler* p. 127 (Pravila §7; 127-29: material for comparison from the Greek-Byzantine area). Unfortunately, we do not know the substance of such "persuasive speeches."

28 Edition: Makarii (M. P. Bulgakov), "Sochineniia prepodobnago Feodosiia Pecherskago," in *Uchenye Zapiski Vtorogo otdeleniia AN,* bk. 2, no. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1856), pp. 193-97; the revised edition is in Suchomlinov, "Issledovaniia," pp. 85-88.

29 On marriages that were concluded without the approval of the church, especially among simple folk, see Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche. . . Denkmäler* pp. 141-44, 163-65 (Ioann II, Pravila §15, 20), 376f. (Archbishop Il'ia of Novgorod, exhortatory sermon §19). The church tried to end this practice.

sacrifices to idols.[30] The anonymous author repeatedly juxtaposes the detailed depiction of these abuses to passages from the epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Corinthians.

In a series of other *slova* on the same theme,[31] the role of Byzantine sources, for instance, is not explained clearly. A firm rejection of the Latin faith—firmer than in the canonical questions and answers—is contained in an epistle of the igumen Feodosii Grek (d. 1156)[32] to Prince Iziaslav (Mstislavich); there the term *dvoeverie* is still qualified by the designations *krivovernye, chuzhdaia vera, bliz eresi*, etc. But in spite of the urgent admonition to avoid contact, charitableness toward those of a different faith was not only permitted, but encouraged.[33] On the other hand, Bishop Serapion of Vladimir (d. 1275) reported that innocent people had been burned at the stake, the judges of whom had fallen victim to belief in sorcery (or superstition).[34] Apart from Metropolitan Ioann, Serapion is probably the hierarch who, in his cursory consideration of the history of man (*slovo* 4 and 5), relied most fervently on the sober judgment and engaged humanity of his listeners. Given this fundamental attitude, he could point out to his own generation the contrast between the diabolical perversions found among Christians (e.g., the practice of "trial by water") and the high moral level of the pagans; his superior intellectual and spiritual caliber is also evident in his sovereign familiarity with Holy Scripture and in the excellent rhetorical structure of his sermons.[35]

To summarize, official church representatives combatted *dvoeverie* (of any stripe) both with discipline, through admonitions to contain it and through relatively mild punishments, and with doctrine, almost exclusively

30 Edition: A. I. Ponomarev, *Pamiatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 224-31; see also ibid., pp. 237-40.

31 Podskalsky, *Christentum*,pp. 253-56.

32 The reasons for my attribution of this and other polemical works to Feodosii Grek (instead of the traditional attribution to Feodosii Pecherskii), proposed in *Christentum*, pp. 179-84, following K. Viskovatyi, have to date been neither accepted nor refuted. Furthermore, concerning questions of the authorship of polemical works in general, we have to consider the fact that this literary genre is clearly, and not accidentally, linked to the native Greek clergy in Rus'; see G. Podskalsky, "Der Beitrag der griechischstämmigen Metropoliten (Kiev), Bischöfe und Mönche zur altrussischen Originalliteratur (Theologie), 988-1281," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 24 (1983): 498-515.

33 Edition: I. P. Ere'min, "Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosiia Pecherskogo," *TODRL* 5 (1947): 170-73, especially 171f.

34 His last two *slova* (nos. 4 and 5), in particular, deal with pagan survivals; Edition: E. V. Petuchov, *Serapion Vladimirskii,russkii propovednik XII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1888), supplement, pp. 11-15.

35 Compare the formal analysis (*slovo* 4) in: R. Bogart, "On the Rhetorical Style of Serapion Vladimirskij,'' in *Medieval Russian Culture*, H. Birnbaum and M. S. Flier, eds. (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 280–310, especially pp. 308–310.

through the opposing testimony of Holy Scripture, but only rarely did they counter it with rational argument. It is difficult to gauge how far this tolerance, documented in the written sources, was observed in everyday practice; where there are reports of the killing of sorcerers,[36] the deaths were ordered by princes, not by the threatened bishops (or priests). But it is highly improbable that a systematic persecution or extermination, such as sometimes occurred centuries later with the Old Believers (*razkol'niki*), took place. On the other hand, the church was apparently without any positive ideas as to how to "Christianize" pagan customs. The opposite has not been proved by Soviet historiography (or anthropology), which has often offered as evidence of a merely superficial Christianization the replacement of pagan gods and religious sites by Christian saints and churches (for instance, the substitution of the animal god Volos/Veles by the peasants' patron saint Vlassii, or of the Perun sanctuary in Kiev by the Elijah church).[37] Unquestionably, *dvoeverie* was more a matter of everyday domestic practices than of religious offices.

II. PRINCIPAL ASPECTS OF THE THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

These findings concerning Christianity in Kievan Rus'—however encouraging or discouraging they may be—lead to my second set of questions: What were the principal aspects of Kievan theology? Were the central themes of the Christian gospel recognized as such, and was their reception encouraged? Or did things get bogged down in more or less randomly chosen peripheral themes? The organizers of a scholarly colloquium in Germany marking the millennium recently asked me to speak on the "systematics" of Kievan theology; but there is no such thing, as I have argued at the outset here. That is why answering this set of questions is difficult: they allow each observer to judge for himself to what extent the recognizable key concepts determined not only orthodox ideas but also everyday orthodox practice. It seems to me, however, that the following two points are indisputable: first, there is no need to further subdivide the Kievan epoch according to the categories of the history of theology (e.g., familiar-

36 *Pověst' vremennykh let*, pp. 147f. (on 1024), pp. 174-81 (on 1071).
37 See Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 16, fn. 69; p. 17, fn. 74; also St. Georgoudi, "Sant' Elia in Grecia," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 39 (1968): 293-319.

ity with the world versus distance from the world);[38] second, many features are typical of Kievan theology, but none are exclusive to it.

A. *Eschatology*

The first "red thread" that I discern is the basic attitude toward eschatology that permeates many of the texts. Here I am referring not so much to the countless, almost standardized warnings about the Last Judgment that were to help monks and the laity free themselves from sin and vice,[39] or interpret pagan attacks as harbingers of that judgment. Rather, I am looking at the larger eschatological framework. The *Tale of Bygone Years,* consciously organized as a chronicle of the world, already tended to calculate the end of history because it took over from the Byzantine chronicles the figure of A.M. 7000 as the age of the world. A few years after the final editing of the Nestor Chronicle, Deacon Kirik of Novgorod (A.D. 1136) provided an explicit justification for this figure by combining the week of Creation (or the period of time in Paradise) with the length of a completed day (Ps. 89: 4; 2 Pet. 3: 8). In his *Uchenie (imzhe vedati cheloveku chisla vsekh let)*, he did not neglect to mention that in setting the current year at A.M. 6644 (i.e., the date of the world's age then, with the birth of Christ being in 5500), exactly 356 years remained until the end of the world.[40] This method of calculating the world's age found its way into homiletics through the work of Avraamii of Smolensk, who, influenced by the *Zhitie* of Basileios Neos (Vasilii Novyi; Basil the Younger), turned his attention primarily to the subject of the Last Judgment.[41] In his writings the coming of eternity is not simply a fact or a warning, but it is depicted vividly in all its awesome terror *(mytar'stva),* with the aim of making Christians change their lives. Also significant is Nestor's statement in the *Chtenie* about Boris and Gleb, that as long as the "Rus' land" was in the thrall of pagan idolatry, the parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matt. 20: 1–16), where it is said that the last shall be summoned at the eleventh hour, was applicable to it.[42] In patristic

38 Cf. N. K. Nikol'skii, *O drevnerusskom khristianstve,* in *Russkaia mysl,* 34 (1913): 6, 123; M. D. Prisëlkov, "Bor'ba dvukh mirovozrenii,'' in *Rossiia i zapad,* vol. 1, ed. A. J. Zaozerskii (Petrograd, 1923)), pp. 36-56 (also see *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi X–XII vv.* [St. Petersburg, 1913; rpt., The Hague, 1966], pp. 238-84).

39 Whole *slova* deal with this topic, as, for instance, the anonymous "Pouchenie o spasenii dushi" (A. Popov, *Pervoe pribavlenie k opisaniiu rukopisei i katalogu knig tserkovnoi pechati biblioteki A. I. Khludova* [Moscow, 1875]: 45-52) or the likewise anonymous ''Slovo o bogatem i o Lazare" (Ponomarev, *Pamiatniki,* pp. 276-82).

40 On editions and bibliography, see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* pp. 231f.

41 See Podskalsky, *Christentum,* pp. 101 - 103 (see also pp. 50, 140f., 239).

42 See Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 113; also D. Freydank, "Die altrussische Hagiographie in ihren europaischen Zusammenhangen. Die Berichte Liber Boris und Gleb als hagiographische Texte," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 28 (1983): 83.

literature, from Origen on, the parable of the vineyard was considered to be the point of departure for a five-part division of the age of the world and for the calculation of how long the world would survive;[43] Nestor put forth this view in an urgent tone for the sake of the recently converted. Within the limited selection of patristic texts that were available in Slavic translations during the Kievan period, the frequency of references to Ephraim the Syrian is also striking,[44] for it was precisely eschatology that was one of Ephraim's privileged themes.

Apart from this chronological framework, which also belongs to the history of theology, an idealistic world of the imagination was kept alive beyond the Kievan period by eschatological expectations.[45] First was the reverence shown to Jerusalem, noticeable as early as in the *Izbornik 1076 g.* and in Igumen Daniil's *Khozhdenie*, but also in the Lives of Feodosii Pecherskii and Avraamii of Smolensk; this arose from the tension between the earthly copy and the—still missing—original heavenly image (see Apoc. 21, for example). For the peoples in the Byzantine "Commonwealth" there was also both the "new Jerusalem" of Constantinople—Antonii, later Archbishop of Novgorod, outlined in his guide for pilgrims, a vision of the eschatological Peaceable Kingdom (which he linked to a miracle of light in the Hagia Sophia) where even Jews would come to be baptized[46] —and the "new Jerusalem" of Kiev.[47] In the beauty of their respective cathedrals dedicated to St. Sophia, both cities symbolized the glory to come, but they also threatened to obscure it. Moreover, in the widely read apocryphal and pseudoepigraphical literature *(otrechennyia knigi)*, especially in the Pseudo-Methodius of Patara,[48] already incorporated into the Nestor Chronicle, the Last Judgment in Jerusalem was portrayed in detail. Closely allied with this was the idea of the thousand-year binding and subsequent rule of the Antichrist (Apoc. 20:2-7), taken not so much from the Revelation of St. John, which had

43 See R. Schmidt, "Aetates mundi," *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955/56): 288-317.

44 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 338 (Register, s.v.).

45 On the following, compare the well-documented study by N. Ross, "L'attente eschatologique: La vision de l'achèvement des temps en Russie a la fin du XIV^e et au debut du XV^e s.," *Istina* (Paris) 20 (1975): 321-34.

46 See Chr. Loparev, "Kniga Palomnik," *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 51 (1899): 14f. (Reference to the Byzantine "Patria": see G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* [Paris, 1984], p. 302.)

47 See R. Stupperich, "Kiev, das zweite Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 12 (1935): 332-54.

48 See Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 80, fn. 376; p. 206, fn. 894. Also thus in the *Vita* of Andreas Salos (Andrei Iurodivyi).

nearly been suppressed in the Eastern church since the time of Eusebius of Caesarea, as it was from the writings (genuine and spurious) of Hippolytus of Rome.[49]

I note, finally, one writer whose predominantly Eastern style of imagery (in the homilies) would scarcely lead one to suspect him of making statements about eschatology: Bishop Kirill of Turov. His first monk's sermon was subtitled "On the Future Judgment and On Torment."[50] The combined parables of the wicked workers in the vineyard (Matt. 21:33-41) and of the halt and the blind were followed by a description of the judgment that would befall the two central figures (intended to symbolize the fusion and the separation of body and soul): on the day of resurrection they would come before the face of God together with their interceding angel. In his prayers of the hours, Kirill again expressed the familiar idea about the "toll-gates" (*mytar'stva*) that the soul must pass through after death, as well as the idea of intercession by angels and saints (Mary, John the Baptist, Nicholas) and of the joys of the heavenly Jerusalem (in the company of the Rus' saints Antonii, Feodosii, Varlaam Khutynskii, Efrosiniia of Polatsk).[51] The aim of this reforming monk was always to make all Christians change their ways. In the Kievan *Paterik,* too, there is no dearth of eschatological thinking. One instance is the story of Pimin the Sufferer (*slovo* 35), who, applying the example of three deceased monks, illustrates for his comrades how different the significance of the "Grand or Angelic Scheme" can be for each individual. God gives this monastic vestment to the first, posthumously, for his long suffering and his good works; it is taken from the second monk after his death because he did not wish to receive it until the hour of his death and therefore could not show evidence of any good works; finally, it serves as evidence against the third monk at the Last Judgment, due to his sloth and sinfulness.

Even this cursory survey shows us that the theology of Kievan Rus', with regard above all to personal eschatology, yet also to its cosmological dimension and concern with the eschatology of empire, repeatedly reflected on and proclaimed the connection between this world and the next, between

49 For the Slavic translation, see G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie. Die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Großreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20). Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Munich, 1972), p. 66, fns. 395-97; see also: I. I. Sreznevskii, *Skazanie ob Antichriste s zamechaniami o slav. perevodakh tvorenii sv. Ippolita* (Moscow, 1874); V. Sakharov, *Eskhatologicheskiia sochineniia i skazaniia v drevne-russkopis'mennosti* (Tula, 1879); P. J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 193-225.

50 Erëmin, "Literaturnoe nasledie," pp. 340-47.

51 On editions and bibliography, see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* pp. 241-44.

goodness and its reward, and between apostasy and judgment, as being fundamental truths of Christianity.

B. Imitatio Christi

A second topic, one that takes us perhaps even closer to the center of the Christian gospel, surfaces as early as the eleventh century: the imitation of the suffering of Christ, who bears the Cross and who is the meaning of life for the layman or the monk called to sanctity. Of course, in Byzantium[52] this chosen path to perfection was not always followed under the same rubric, yet it was probably at the focal point of spiritual concerns there, exactly the way it was in the West.

Was there among the Rus' any religious evidence of a particular devotion to the Cross that prepared the way spiritually for the *imitatio*? It is remarkable that in the canonical questions and answers of Kirik the only day memorializing Christ that is referred to repeatedly is the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14/27).[53] Depicted there are these elements: the liturgical rite of the raising of the Cross toward each of the four points of the compass; the marvellous ascent of the relic of the Cross after its discovery; abstention from fish and meat; and kissing the cross as a sign of special devotion (and of daily devotion). Some of these prescriptions are traced back to Metropolitan Klim Smoliatich. One practice that did not meet with approval from the church, because of its formulaic nature and the risk of perjury, was the kissing of the cross,[54] which was often done, according to the testimony of the Old Rus' chronicles, to confirm the conclusion of an agreement. Furthermore, in the prologue (short-vita), St. Ol'ga is called a "second Helen" because she is said to have brought back from Constantinople the cross that now stands in the right chancel of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev.[55] The Nestor Chronicle, and even more the polemical literature, denounces the lack of respect, even the contempt, for the Cross shown by the Latin church. Probably supported (whether consciously or not) by a prescription in the Codex Justinianus (I, 8) or in the *Canones* (can. 73) of the Council in Trullo (691) against chiseling a cross in

52 A bibliography of works on this ascetic ideal in Byzantium is found in Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p.155, fn. 678.

53 Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche. . . Denkmäler*, pp. 234f. (§21), 237 (§25), 247f. (§37), 308f. (Sava §4). For the Byzantine model see J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), pp. 7-9 (St. Sophia), pp. 24-26 (other churches).

54 Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche. . . Denkmäler*, p. 378f. (exhortatory sermon by the Novgorod archbishop Il'ia, §21). A well-preserved pectoral cross ("cross of Jerusalem") apparently belonged to the archbishop: see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 190, fn. 824.

55 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 121 (on the edition, see p. 117). On the acquisition of another relic of the cross (beginning of the thirteenth century, Novgorod), see ibid., p. 221, fn. 1003.

the floor of a church,[56] the chroniclers and polemicists reproached the Latins for making a cross on the ground (upon entering a church?), bowing down to kiss it, and then standing up and stepping on it.[57] References to the discovery of the Cross are found in Igumen Daniil's *Khozhdenie*; there occurs a description of visits to sites in Palestine marking the Cross of Christ, his grave, and his resurrection. The Rus' knew a liturgical and a private devotion to the Cross that, owing to its unique and central place in church and everyday life, was perhaps even more strongly articulated than in Byzantium. Abuses born of thoughtlessness or devised by minds still given to magic and fetishism certainly may have occurred, but there is no documentary evidence for this apart from what has already been mentioned.

What do the actual theological writings say about this form of piety? Once again, the most profound statements are to be found in Kirill of Turov, who was often mistaken as a mere word-juggler, whereas in reality he was a preeminent theologian. In his third monk's sermon, one particularly rich in symbolism,[58] Kirill summarizes his introduction to the *imitatio* with the following piece of advice: the monk should bear shame and suffering while being mindful of the Passion of his Lord; he should accept his shorn head as a crown of thorns; he should fix his willfulness onto the Cross—not have faith in himself, but rather expect that Christ will be his savior from Hades. Kirill goes on to make a far-reaching connection between the garments of the priests of Aaron (Ex. 28f., especially 29:1–9), the priesthood of Christ, and the monk's habit. So the belt of the Mosaic priesthood signifies Christ's being sentenced to death by crucifixion, to which he was led bound in order that Adam might be "deified"; that is also why the bearer of the Grand or Angelic Design should wear the belt on feast days, as Aaron and Christ did. One piece of clothing after another is interpreted with reference to scenes from the Passion of Christ, or the "βίος ἀγγελικός."[59] Even Kirill's hours for each day of the week contain the request, in the prayer for Friday, that he be permitted to partake in the spiritual fruits of Christ's Way of the Cross at each of its stations. The great

56 See P. Bernadakes (B. Menthon), "Le culte de la croix chez les Grecs," *Echos d'Orient* 5 (1901/02): 193-202; 257-64; here 194f.

57 *Povest' vremennykh let,* col. 114 (on 988); a similar critique is found for the same time period in a letter by Metropolitan Nikephoros I (Nikifor; 1104–1121): Edition: Makarii (M. P. Bulgakov), *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi,* vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1889; rpt., Düsseldorf, 1968), p. 337, and also in the "Pravilo" of Metropolitan Kirill II (1242/47-1281): see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 270.

58 G. Podskalsky, "Symbolische Theologie in der dritten Monchsrede Kirills von Turov," *Cyrillomethodianum* 8/9 (1984/85): 49–57.

59 Erëmin, "Literaturnoe nasledie," pp. 356, 358-60; see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* pp. 155-58.

canon of prayer expresses a similar wish encompassing all other desires of the heart: to become the "imitator of Christ."[60] With this, the ideal of the *imitatio* becomes the central point of Kirill's spiritual aspirations and stands above all other motivating factors.

As examples of the *imitatio Christi* in the pain of martyrdom, the Kievan Chronicle depicts the death of the two princes, Igor' Ol'govich (d. 1147) and Andrei Bogoliubskii (d. 1174).[61] Like Christ, Igor' tells his murderers that they are about to kill him as they would a thief (Matt. 26: 55), and that they know not what they do (Luke 23: 34). Along with the reference to the nakedness of birth and death (the tearing off of the monk's habit; cf. Job 1:21) there are even overtones of the classical theme of monastic mysticism in the *imitatio.* Before he dies, Igor' can still repeat Christ's last words: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke 34:46). In the description of Prince Andrei's murder, the comparison of the ringleader with Judas, the betrayer of Christ, is noteworthy. Even before he dies, in his prayers the prince recalls the bloody atonement of his Lord for the redemption of sinners; like a "lamb without blemish" (Exod. 12:5), he commends his soul to God. The similarity to Christ's Passion is clearly intentional, at least on the part of the chroniclers. As early as in the report of the martyrdom of the two saints, prince-martyrs, and sufferers *(strastoterptsy),* Boris and Gleb, we find the image of the "slaughter of the (defenseless) sacrificial lamb" central to the interpretive scheme; their participation in Christ's Passion is further characterized by an anticipation of forgiving their murderers, following the example of the Redeemer.[62] The liturgical office *(Sluzhba)* of the Feast of the Translation that is dedicated to Boris and Gleb intensifies the comparison with Christ's Passion by adding that the two brothers not only realized a radical *imitatio Christi* (Matt. 10: 21), but that they also let themselves be killed by their own brother.[63]

Briefer allusions to the topos of the *imitatio* can also be found in the Old Rus' lives of the confessors. The life of Feodosii was determined by poverty, humility, and labor in the *imitatio Christi* even before he entered

60 On editions and bibliography, see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* pp. 241, 243, 245.

61 *PSRL,* 2 (St. Petersburg, 1908; 2nd ed.: Moscow, 1962): 345–54, 580-95; see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* pp. 224, 228.

62 On editions and bibliography, see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 110 (Skazanie), p. 114 (Chtenie); also see Freydank, "Die altrussische Hagiographie," p. 81. This particular motif is already mentioned in the account of the Primary Chronicle: Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 212 (with fn. 943).

63 Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 233 (on the edition, p. 235).

the cloister.[64] Avraamii of Smolensk, when he began his life as a monk, oriented his thinking toward the holy sites in Palestine and living in harmony with the life of Christ;[65] a canon refers to his literal *imitatio* of the Way of the Cross dressed in the guise of both shepherd and lamb.[66] Aside from the already mentioned *Zhitie* by Feodosii there are only two other occurrences of this motif in the Kievan *Paterik*: one is in the motto for the spiritual striving of the monk-father Antonii (*slovo* 2), and the other is the quasi-parodistic description of the Way of the Cross that the imprisoned monk Evstratii *(slovo* 16) has to suffer at the hands of a Jew.

Apart from these instances we find the monk Iakov recommending, in his ascetic monitory letter, Christ's Passion as the best model for patience in bearing suffering.[67] An anonymous *slovo* from the end of the thirteenth century to a newly ordained priest calls him and his fellow priests purely and simply "imitators of the Lord," but the reference is to the theological heart of their calling.[68]

What is the meaning of all these illustrations, interpretations, admonitions, and references with regard to the *imitatio Christi*? Can they be characterized as being "non multa (tantum), sed multum?" If we keep in mind that not a single text belonging to Kievan literature can be categorized by a single theme, or by a single genre—and that therefore we cannot expect to find a theological treatise that might either exclude all other motifs or systematize a single one—then the many and in part very impressive *loci* add up to a substantial center of interest. Since they are for the most part clothed in narrative garb, they will perhaps be fully revealed only after repeated spiritual readings.

One could certainly point to still other major aspects, for example, the theology of images. By this I mean not only the glorification of certain icons—many theologians believed the sole permanent contribution of Kievan Rus' to be in fine arts[69] —but also the conviction expressed in a passage from the Kievan Chronicle, where meditating on beautiful decorations (i.e., icon paintings) in the Rus' churches is declared to be the decisive

64 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 123f. (on the edition, pp. 122ff.).

65 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 140 (on the edition, p. 139).

66 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 239f.

67 Makarii, *Istoriia*, 2: 325f.

68 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 267f.

69 For instance, G. V. Florovsky, "The Problem of Old Russian Culture," *Slavic Review* 21 (1962): 1 - 15; W. Vodoff, "La theologie dans la Russie de Kiev? Notes critiques," *Revue de Vhistoire des religions* 203, no. 3 (1986): 281-94; here 294.

element in the conversion of unbelievers and heretics.[70] It is telling that this passage has reference to Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, who promoted the cult of images by enthroning the icon of the Holy Mother of Vladimir that came from Constantinople and by inaugurating the appropriate festivities. Even Hagia Sophia on the Bosporus held a great icon of SS. Boris and Glěb around 1200.[71] The icons of Nicholas the Miracle-worker were widely distributed and loved; in the Kievan *Paterik* (*slovo* 34), two deceitful monks are found guilty by means of icons that were ''painted not by human hands (εἰκὼν ἀχειροποίητος).'' These few clues indicate how much material of this kind could be gathered.

The examples given here show that the church of Kievan Rus', which itself had no serious doctrinal conflicts, on the one hand addressed its particular problems (such as *dvoeverie)* bravely and thoughtfully, yet, on the other hand, could proceed as it did only because of a simultaneous turning to the central truths of Christianity. The fact that these truths are often hidden away in writings that are narrative rather than didactic is what makes Kievan theology so attractive, but this circumstance also makes it fragile and subtle.

Philosophisch-Theologische Fakultät, Sankt Georgen,
Frankfurt-am-Main

Translated from German by Gerald Chappie

70 *PSRL,* 2:591 (on the year 1175). On the Byzantine precedents of this opinion, see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 228, fn. 1037.
71 See Loparev, *Kniga,* pp. 15f. On Russian depictions of the same saints, see Podskalsky, *Christentum,* p. 115, fn. 518.

How the Conversion of Rus' Was Understood in the Eleventh Century

ANDRZEJ POPPE

Scholars have long studied particular accounts of the baptism of Rus' for their veracity, and I too have investigated the relevant evidence.[1] A peculiarity of all the sources is that not one is contemporaneous with the event it describes; they were all recorded a dozen to several scores of years later, although in some cases one can detect passages from, or fragments of, records written closer to the crucial year of 988. Here I am not concerned with these records as a source to the baptism of Rus' per se, but as a repository of what different writers of the eleventh century knew about the conversion of Rus' and its ruler, Prince Volodimer of Kiev and how they perceived that event.

Decided ignorance is shown by the Byzantine writers. It was not a real ignorance, but one dictated by the internal situation of the Byzantine Empire, above all by the deep divisions evident during the civil war of 986-989, which did not disappear after Basil's victory. One can easily understand the efforts at concealment of Leo the Deacon, who was opposed to the policy of Basil II.[2] Leo portrayed the Rus' as a dangerous enemy threatening the very existence of the empire. His ignoring of the baptism of Rus' was at least justified in his own mind, because he believed it was announced for the sake of appearances and had no lasting significance. More surprising was the attitude of Michael Psellos, who wrote his *Chronographia* after 1059, that is, over seventy years after Christianity was promulgated in Rus' under the supervision of the metropolitan of Kiev, appointed in Constantinople. Psellos does not mention the baptism, but in his account of the participation of the Tauroscythians in the battle of

[1] A. Poppe, "The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus'. Byzantino-Russian Relations Between 986-989," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 197-244; reprinted in idem, *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982).

[2] *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem*, ed. C. Hase (Bonn, 1828), pp. 149f., 175f.; especially book 10. Cf. J. Karayannopulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 368f.; Poppe, "Background," pp. 212f.; S. A. Ivanov, "Polemičeskaja napravlennost' 'Istorii' L'va Diakona," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 43 (1982): 74-80; M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Lev Diakon i jego vremja," in *Lev Diakon,* ed. S. Ivanov and G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1988), pp. 143-46, 149-56.

Abydos (April 989), and particularly in his description of the Rus'-Byzantine war of 1043, he calls the Rus' "barbarians."[3] Thus, indirectly but pointedly, he contested their membership in the family of Christian nations. Highly educated and well-read, Psellos consciously made full use of the semantic possibilities of the Greek word *barbaros.* He delighted in using this word again and again in reference to Rus'. Because he knew the ancient tradition so well, by *barbaroi* Psellos could simply have meant foreigners: it was in this sense that the Greek writers of Constantinople used the term in referring to the inhabitants of Rome.[4] Psellos, reasoning in imperial categories of old and new Rome, included the Rus' among the *exterae gentes* from *oikumenē ton rhōmaiōn*. As a courtier and a monk, an intellectual and an intriguer, an adviser and a friend of emperors and of patriarchs, Psellos must have met with the metropolitans of Kiev and the Greek bishops of Rus' who visited Constantinople. He contrasted the *orbis romanus*, as an expression of Christian civilization and humanity, with the barbarous Rus', to him an uncultured, unorthodox, brutal, and rude land. This attitude resulted from his conviction, inherited from Leo the Deacon, that the Rus' were an age-old enemy, with perpetual hatred for the empire. To Psellos, the East Slavs of the second half of the eleventh century were a pagan ethnos beyond the limits of the Christian community.

What forced Psellos to go so far in ignoring the Rus' as a Christian nation? Were the impressions he received from visiting Rus' and returning Greek clergy so negative? True, from Constantinople's vantage point Rus' was Christianizing very slowly. Yet the real obstacle to his understanding was unfamiliarity with the language of Rus' and, above all, the extreme contrast in culture, to say nothing about the noted persistence of pagan prac-

3 M. Psellos, *Chronographie on Histoire d'un siecle de Byzance (976– 1077)*, ed. and trans. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926-28), vol. 1, p. 9, and vol. 2, p. 8f. (bk. 1, §13-15; bk. 6, §90-96); Eng. trans. E. R. A. Sewter, 1953 and 1966. Cf. Karayannopulos and Weiss, *Quellenkunde*, pp. 407f.

4 Cf. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt, 1976; reprinted from the 1953 edition), pp. 285, 292, 340; K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1954); idem, "Byzanz und die Barbaren," *Saeculum* 6 (1955): 299ff.; D. Obolensky, "The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy," in *Actes du XII^e Congres International d'Etudes byzantines*, vol. 1 (Beograd, 1964), pp. 54-56 (reprinted in idem, *Byzantium and the Slavs: Collected Studies* [London, 1971]); H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), pp. 29ff., 46ff. Cf. also G. Vismara, "Barbaren," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (1980), pp. 1434f. On the question of why the Slavs did not call the Byzantines Romans, but simply Greeks, cf. an attempt by G. Litavrin, "Predstavlenija 'varvarov' o Vizantii i vizantijcax v VI–X vv.,'' *Vizantijskij vremennik* 46 (1986): 100-108, who likes to see here the renunciation of Byzantine rights to the Roman legacy. The actual case seems to be much simpler: in practice, the Slavs dealt with the Greeks and with the Greek language.

tices among the Rus'. Also, the human and spiritual qualities of the Greek clergy sent to Rus' must be considered: how many of them were real missionaries? One remark of a Kievan monk and chronicler at the turn of the eleventh century is hardly complimentary to most of the metropolitans of Kiev.[5] It can be assumed that opinions in Constantinople about the newly converted land were shaped in part by Byzantines returning from there. However, Psellos first and foremost was a Byzantine imperial historian, and one, moreover, uncommonly pliable and cunning. He knew how to select his materials. He must have considered it tactless and indiscrete to connect Volodimer's help for Basil during the civil war with the giving of a porphyrogenite princess in marriage to a barbarian prince, especially since he probably considered the conversion as unauthentic and insincere. He preferred to keep silent on the topic.

In any case, the inclination to insinuate and to pass over in silence was typical not only of Psellos. John Skylitzes, his contemporary, noted the Rus' military assistance and the marriage of Volodimer to the emperor's sister, but made no mention of the prince's baptism or the conversion of his country. Yet in treating the 860s Skylitzes repeated the testimony of Theophanes Continuatus on the conversion of Rus' and for the 950s he did record the baptism in Constantinople of the *archontissa* of Rus', Ol'ga.[6] Mention of these events might have suggested to his readers that when the emperor Basil later asked for Volodimer's help and gave him the hand of his sister Anna, he was dealing with a Christian ruler.

[5] See *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL)*, 1 (Leningrad, 1926), p. 208; Eng. trans. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 169f.: "In this year, John the Metropolitan passed away. John was a man versed in books and study, generous to the poor and to the widows, affable to both rich and poor, calm-tempered and mild, reticent yet eloquent, and able to console the sorrowful with words of Holy Scripture. *There never was his like in Rus' before him, nor will there be in later days."* Usually the metropolitans were much different. Cf. L. Müller, "Russen in Byzanz und Griechen im Rus'-Reich," *Bulletin d' information et de coordination,* no. 5 (Athens and Paris, 1971), pp. 96-118; G. Podskalsky, "Der Beitrag der griechischstämmigen Metropoliten (Kiev), Bischöfe und Monche zur altrussischen Originalliteratur (Theologie), 988-1281," *Cahiers du monde russe et sovietique* 24 (1983): 498-515. For separate biographies of Kiev metropolitans, see G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982), pp. 282-301. For a more recent view on John II, see G. Podskalsky, "Metropolit Ioann II von Kiev (1076/77–1089) als Okumeniker,'' *Ostkirchliche Studien* 2(1988).

[6] *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum,* ed. J. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1973): 165, 240. See Karayannopulos and Weiss, *Quellenkunde,* pp. 407f.; Poppe, "Background," p. 201. On the "first conversion" of Rus', see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 14-17; L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich, 1987), pp. 57-66; and A. P. Viasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970), pp. 244f., 391f.

Such was courtly historiography. In any case, in Byzantium during the years 987-988, when the Rus' church province was founded with the former metropolitan of Sebaste, Theophylaktos, a man loyal to Basil II, at its head, the event was thought of primarily as a dynastic alliance and a diplomatic mission to the Kievan court. That perception continued to some degree in the eleventh century.[7]

The Byzantine contribution to the Christianization and to the transformation of culture and public life in Rus' is indisputable. But this Byzantine impact was often passive in nature. Through Byzantine influences, a large Christian religious and cultural legacy was at the disposal of the Rus'. The needs, conditions, and possibilities of the Rus' limited the benefits they could derive. Reception was facilitated by the existence of the Cyrillo-Methodian and Bulgarian inheritance. Its adaptation created some problems, but in the main was conducive to acculturation.[8] There is some doubt about considering early East-Slavic receptivity to Byzantine Christianity and civilization as acculturation. The active party in the process was the recipient. The Byzantine merit could have lain in facilitating unhampered borrowing from this repository. Yet here too a civilization's attitude toward its lowly follower could have been in evidence. Acrimonious remarks made in Kiev about the Greeks simultaneously with expressions of deep respect to Greek Christianity seem to reflect this duality. The baptism and Christianization of the East Slavs and their acculturation into Byzantine civilization must be attributed to the initiative of the leading strata of Rus' society (including the clergy). In this case Spinoza's statement is especially apt: "the active one is not the one who influences but the one who receives the influence. . . . Receiving, in the language of scholastics, is always accomplished *modo recipientis*.''[9]

7 See Poppe, "Background," pp. 224-32; note, for instance, the creation in the 1060s of two titular metropolitanates in Cernihiv and Perejaslav. Cf. A. Poppe, "Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach Kościoła na Rusi," pts. 2 and 3, in *Przeglqd historyczny* 55 (1964):557-72 and 56 (1965): 557-69; Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 32f.

8 Cf. **D.** Obolensky, "The Byzantine Impact on Eastern Europe," *Praktika tes Akademias Athēnōn* 55 (1980): 148-68, reprinted in idem, *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London, 1982); also see other papers by this author there. For an attempt at recapitulation, see S. Franklin, "The Reception of Byzantine Culture by the Slavs," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), pp. 383-98, which omitted F. J. Thomson, "The Nature of the Reception of Christian Byzantine Culture in Russia in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries and its Implications for Russian Culture," *Slavica Gandensia* 5 (1978): 107-39 (with valuable data and controversial conclusions).

9 See L. Kołakowski, *Jednostka i nieskończoność, Wolnosc i antynomia wolności w filozofii Spinozy* (Warsaw, 1958), p. 612. Cf. A. Gieysztor, ''Kasztelanowie flandryjscy i polscy," in *Studia Historyczne (Festschrift S. Arnold)* (Warsaw, 1965), p. 107; cf. also I. Sevcenko, "Remarks on the Diffusion of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the

Although in Constantinople itself, both in the imperial court and among the inhabitants, the view of Rus' as an apocalyptic force threatening the empire with extermination persisted and the baptism of Rus' was largely ignored, a somewhat different opinion prevailed in Byzantium's eastern provinces—for instance, in Antioch, which sided with the usurper Bardas Phokas during the civil war. The more informative view of Rus' was recorded by the Arab-Christian historian Yahya of Antioch, who settled there in 1015. Writing his history a dozen or so years later, he made use of local sources. His description of the civil war of 986-989 sets out to explain how victory came to Basil.[10]

According to Yahya, it was Emperor Basil who sent envoys seeking military assistance to Kiev. Volodimer's willingness to provide it led to a treaty and relationship by marriage. Volodimer "married the sister of the emperor after the latter had demanded his baptism along with all of the people of his land."[11] The emperor first sent clergy to baptize Volodimer and his subjects and then sent his sister. A simple deal is struck: the emperor, desperately in need of military aid, gets it at the price of kinsmanship. The porphyrogenite princess will be given in marriage after the baptism of Volodimer and his people. Volodimer's willingness to convert is what makes the realization of both men's intentions possible. The marriage of Anna Porphyrogenita to a barbarian and pagan would only have confirmed Basil's loss of the crown, whereas the baptism of Volodimer and the introduction of his country into the family of Christian nations helped to justify not only the dynastic alliance itself, but also the use of Rus' troops against the Byzantine ruler's kinsmen. This help was offered by a newly baptized Christian ruler who was, moreover, now also the emperor's brother-in-law. Thus, the political significance of the conversion of Rus' is preeminent in Yahya's historical record.

The view of the Armenian historian Stephen of Taron (Asoghik) is based on the same facts, but differs from the one-sided Byzantine view of Yahya. Asoghik wrote shortly before the year 1005 in connection with the participation of Rus' forces in the emperor's eastern campaign of the year 1000.

Orthodox Slavs," *Slavonic and East European Review* 59, no. 3 (1981): 322-25.

10 *Histoire de Yahyā-ibn-Sa'īd d'Atioche*, ed. and trans. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, fasc. 2 (=Patrologia Orientalis 23) (Paris, 1932), pp. 417-31; cf. also a very good literal translation and important commentary by V. R. Rozen, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca: Izvlečenija iz letopisi Jax'i antiohijskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1883; rpt. London, 1972), pp. 23-41, 194-216; Poppe, "Background," pp. 205f. For the Greek sources of Yahya and the rebellion of Bardas Phokas, 987-89, see J. H. Forsyth, "The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle (938-1034) of Yahya b. Sa'īd Al-Antākī," vol. 1 (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 186–92, 423-62.

11 *Histoire de Yahya*, pp. 422-24; Rozen, *Imperator*, pp. 23-24.

Asoghik notes that "Basil got six thousand foot-soldiers from the king of Rus', when he gave his sister in marriage to the latter and at the time that this nation came to believe in Christ."[12] The timing and causality of the events are skillfully linked. The political action is prominent, but the military aid and matrimonial alliance are set against a "Christian background." Here the conversion of Rus' is depicted more autonomously as a primary occurrence, without the bald frankness of Antioch's version of events.

An Arabic view of the circumstances behind the conversion of Rus' was also written at the court of Baghdad. Abu Shuja', vizier of the Abbasid caliphs, who wrote after 1072, used the now lost Baghdad chronicle of Hilāl as SabT (for 970-1056) to describe the years 979-999. Byzantine affairs are related carefully, because regular military and diplomatic contacts required that attention be paid to Byzantium's internal situation. The conversion of Rus' was seen from that perspective. In this account Byzantium is said to have begun the action by asking the Rus' ruler for military help. Then the Rus' prince demanded from the emperor his sister's hand in marriage, but she refused to marry a non-Christian.[13] Significant is the emphasis on Anna's role because the condition of marriage she imposed won Volodimer for Christianity. Here, too, the baptism precedes the marriage. This order of events is unclear in the record of Yahya. But also in Baghdad there arose the conviction that Rus' military strength was crucial in the defeat of Bardas Phokas.

We know next to nothing about the West European response to the baptism of Rus'. Bruno of Querfurt, in his letter to the German king Henry II written in 1008 after a visit to Kiev, evidently considered Rus' to be a fully Christian country. The Christian ruler of the Rus' supported Bruno's mission to convert the Pecenegs.[14] The missionary bishop, zealous to spread

[12] Asoghik, bk. 3, §43, French trans. by E. Dulaurier and F. Macler, *Histoire universelle par Etienne Asoiik de Taron,* pt. 2, Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, ser. 1, vol. 18 (Paris **1917** —), pp. 161-65. An Armenian text was published twice (Paris, 1859, St. Petersburg, 1885); Russian trans. N. Emin (Moscow, 1864), pp. 198-201; German trans. by H. Gelzer and A. Burckhardt (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 209-212. See Poppe, "Background," pp. 202f.

[13] *The Eclipse of the 'Abassid Caliphate,* vol. 6: *Continuation of the Experiences of the Nations by Abu Shuja' Rudhrawari. . .,* trans. D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1921), pp. 118f.; Arabic text, *The Eclipse,* vol. 3, pp. 116f. Russian trans. by T. Kezma with Ukrainian introduction by A. Kryms'kyj, "Opovidannja arabs'koho istoryka XI viku Abu-Sodži Rudravers'koho pro te jak oxrestilasja Rus'," in *Jubilejnyj zbirnyk na posanu D. I. Bahalija* (Kiev, 1927), pp. 383-87, trans. pp. 388-95. Cf. Poppe, "Background," pp. 206f.

[14] For Bruno's letter, see J. Karwasińska, ed., *Monumenta Poloniae Historica,* n.s., vol. 4, no. 3 (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 97-106, especially 98-100; on Bruno's stay in Rus', see M. Hellmann, "Vladimir der Heilige in der zeitgenossischen abendlandischen Uberlieferung," *Jahrbiicher fur Geschichte Osteuropas 1* (1959): 397-412 (also on Thietmar); A. Poppe, "Vladimir as a Christian," forthcoming. For how Bruno understood the act of conversion, see D. H. Kahl,

Christianity among the pagans and traveling across the East Slavic land twenty years after the baptism of Rus', seemed unaware that Christianity was actually just beginning to take hold there. Apparently Bruno did believe it essential to win the ruling class over fully to the Christian faith.

That the baptism of Rus' was noted in Ottonian Europe we know from the chronicler and bishop of Merseburg, Thietmar (975-1018), a relative and schoolmate in Magdeburg of Bruno of Querfurt. Thietmar presented a very negative opinion of Volodimer's morality. Thietmar's text was written between 1015 and 1017; he corrected and supplemented that text in the fall of 1018. According to him, only after Volodimer married the Byzantine princess did he yield to his wife's persuasion and adopt the Christian faith *(christianitatis sanctae fidem eius ortatu suscepit, quam iustis operibus non ornavit,* bk. 7, chap. 72). Thietmar also maintained that the Polish prince Mieszko was won over to Christianity by his wife, the Czech princess Dobrava (bk. 4, chaps. 55-56). Did Thietmar stereotype these rulers? In any case, the passage about Volodimer's conversion stems from Thietmar's wish "to touch upon the wrongful deeds of the king of Rus' Volodimer" *(Amplius progrediar disputando regisque Ruscorum Wlodemiri accionem iniquam perstringendo,* bk. 7, chap. 72). These wrongful deeds were marriage with a Greek princess who was promised to the German king (*Hic a Grecia ducens uxorem Helenam nomine, tercio Ottoni desponsatam, sed ei fraudulenta calliditate subtractam,* bk. 7, chap. 72), and the seizure of Bishop Reinborn, who died in prison. The bishop had come to Rus' with a Polish princess who had married Volodimer's son Svjatopolk; about 1013 Volodimer came to suspect all three of conspiring against him and so had them imprisoned.[15]

Thietmar's indignation at Volodimer's marriage with *filia sancti imperil* is comprehensible in view of the writer's descent from the family of the Grafen (Earls) von Walbeck, which was closely related to other powerful Saxon families. His father Siegfried (d. 991) was a trusted person in the court of Otto II and Theophano. Already Thietmar's maternal grandfather, Henry, Graf von Stade, was an important person in the court of Otto I and was indeed related to him. Otto I's three-year effort to procure a porphyrogenite princess for his son Otto II was not forgotten. Partial success came only after the new emperor, John Tzimisces, decided to give in marriage his niece, Theophano, to Otto II, although the bride was not a porphyrogenite.

"Compellere intrare. Die Wendenpolitik Bruns von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts," *Zeitschrift fur Ostforschung* 4 (1955): 161 -93.

15 *Thielmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann, trans. W. Trillmich (Berlin, 1957; rpt. 1962) pp. 170–75,432-37.

Thus, when in 988 news came of Anna's marriage to a barbarian ruler (hardly a true Christian), the Ottonian court nobility must have been cut to the quick. Bitterness revived and deepened during negotiations for a porphyrogenite princess for Otto III (995-1001). That lasted seven years and had a sad epilogue: Otto III died shortly after a porphyrogenite bride finally arrived.

The Greek arrogance toward the Ottonian dynasty lingered in Thietmar's memory. When writing about Volodimer's marriage nearly thirty years later, the chronicler mistook Helena for Anna and Otto III for Otto II. But Helena seems not to have been his invention: it is likely that the elder daughter of Romanos II was named for her paternal grandmother, the empress Helena Lecapena. So this porphyrogenite princess Helena could have been "the desired girl" requested in about 968 by Otto for his son Otto II (not Anna, who was born in 963).[16]

Thietmar connected Volodimer's baptism with the Rus' ruler's marriage to a porphyrogenite, a marriage recalling an affront to his own country. No wonder that Thietmar spoke about Volodimer as a "great and cruel fornicator" whose "Christianity was not adorned with acts of justice." Writing at the time of fratricidal rivalry for the Kiev throne following Volodimer's death in 1015, Thietmar pointed out that the sinful life and injustice of the late ruler were the source of the quarrels disintegrating his kingdom. Thietmar's animosity is so intense that his account should be read alongside the dispassionate one of Bruno of Querfurt. Yet Thietmar must have reflected the views prevailing among the secular and clerical German, particularly Saxon, nobility. The conversion of Rus' was seen primarily in terms of its political implications to the *renovatio imperil*, despite a divergence from the Ottonian manifestation of this *renovatio* during the reign of Henry II (1002-1024). The defeat of Bardas Phokas (a relative of the empress Theophano) and Byzantine military consolidation could not have pleased Germany, even if only regarding Italian matters. It was known that Rus' military strength had been a major factor in the reversal of Basil's military and political fortunes.[17] The estimation of the conversion of Rus' with

16 See Poppe, "Background," pp. 202, 219, 230-34. For more detail, see A. and D. Poppe, "Dziewosteby o porfirogenetke Anne," *Cultus et Cognitio (Festschrift A. Gieysztor)* (Warsaw, 1976), pp. 451-68; Hellmann, "Vladimir der Heilige"; and A. Poppe, "Vladimir as a Christian."

17 By saying that Volodimer "crudelis magnamque vim Danais mollibus ingessit" (*Chronicon*, VII, 72, p. 434), Thietmar shows the political orientation of the Ottonian court in 987-989. The "unmanly Greeks" vanquished by Volodimer, Thietmar implies, are Bardas Phokas and his partisans. Theophano was probably also related to Bardas Skleros. Unsuccessful historiographic attempts to make the wife of Otto II and mother of Otto III into a porphyrogenite ceased in the 1960s. See W. Ohnsorge, "Die Heirat Kaisers Ottos II mit der Byzan-

Byzantine participation did not result from confessional motives, but was connected with the rise of a new political situation in Eastern and Southeast Europe.

Outside Kievan Rus' itself, the Rus' conversion to Christianity was recorded by near and distant neighbors, mostly Christian, as a trivial event, a component of a political deal and the vehicle for a better position in the family of rulers. Even the intellectual and Christian philosopher Psellos was not imaginative enough to see the future significance of the event.

* *

How was "the grace and truth brought to earth by Jesus Christ" understood, realized, and felt by the Rus' nation when it was baptized? The earliest native record of the baptism of Rus' known to us was written in Kiev in the year 1049 or 1050. This "Sermon on Law and Grace and the Eulogy of our prince Volodimer who baptized us" is more than a homiletic work: it is a philosophical and religious treatise composed by Ilarion, a native priest-monk who had a Byzantine cultural background.[18] Shortly after its deliverance, in 1051, Ilarion was elevated to the metropolitan see of Kiev. His work is widely known, so here we will deal only with its relevance to the topic at hand.[19] Ilarion's sermon was never considered a primary source on

tinerin Theophano," *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 54 (1973): 24-60. For earlier literature, see J. Strzelczyk, "Teofano," *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* (hereafter *SSS)* 6 (1977): 57f.

[18] Recently edited anew by A. M. Moldovan is *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Ilariona* (Kiev, 1984); still indispensable as an excellent commentary is the edition of L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaugensbekenntnis*, nach der Erstausgabe von 1844 neu herausgegeben, eingeleitet und erlautert (Wiesbaden, 1962). Moldovan's dating of the *Slovo* between 1037-1050 (after A. Gorski, 1844) does not take into account the arguments brought up in the 1960s. The *terminus ante quern* is the mention of Jaroslav's wife Irene-Ingigerd, who died on 10 February 1051. The *terminus post quern* is the mention of the Churches of Sophia and of the Annunciation and a "wreath" of fortifications around Kiev built by Jaroslav; all of these were begun after 1036 and were completed near 1046. Present in church during Ilarion's speech were the grandchildren of Jaroslav (the eldest sons married in 1043/44). The sermon was probably recited in *capella palatina*—the Tithes Church—in front of Volodimer's tomb on the Sunday anniversary of his death, 15 July 1050. Cf. A. Soloviev, "Zur Lobrede des Metropoliten Hilarion," *Das heidnische und christliche Slaventum. Acta II congressus internationalis historiae Slavicae Salisburgo-Ratisbonensis 1967* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 58-63; reprinted in idem, *Byzance et la formation de l'Etat russe* (London, 1979); A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 56-58; idem, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 15-66 (reprinted in idem, *The Rise of Christian Russia* [London, 1982]).

[19] For the literature, see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 84-86; N. Rozov, "Ilarion," in *Slovar' kniznikov i kniznosti Drevnej Rusi, XI–pervaja polovina XIV v.* (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 198-204. A clear treatment in English is J. Fennell and A. Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* (London, 1974), pp. 40-60, with many quotations from the sermon. As far as I know, only a short part of the sermon has been translated into English, in S. A. Zenkovsky, *Medieval*

the Rus' baptism, even though the conversion is its main subject. The theological treatise offers, in a sense, a historiosophical discussion on the introduction of the Rus' into the universal Christian history of salvation. It also constitutes a praise of Volodimer, as a ruler who converted his nation to the true faith and brought it into the family of Christian nations. The discourse is a proclamation of victorious Christianity and of the originator of the conversion who "raised us [the Rus'], prostrated by idolatry, from the deathbed."[20] In his historiosophical and theosophical vision of the salvation of mankind, Ilarion expressed the significance of the turn from paganism to Christianity in the history of Kievan Rus'.

Among medieval Christian writings Ilarion's sermon is a rare testimony to the self-consciousness of a newly converted nation. Several dozen years after its baptism, in a country where large regions did not yet know about or recognize its own Christianization, a record was produced reflecting Christian historiosophy and a sovereign kind of thinking. It presented the baptism of Rus' as an event glowing high above common terrestrial history. This view, as formulated in Rus', came through Byzantine mediation, giving Ilarion access to the wide range of Christian tradition.

For Ilarion, Rus' history begins with its baptism. Volodimer is not only the baptizer of Rus'—he is its apostle. Ilarion does not dramatically contrast pagan Rus' and Christian Rus', or pagan Volodimer and Christian Volodimer, as the hagiographical writings commonly do (a good example being the text in the Primary Chronicle). While Ilarion qualifies the period of idolatry as the time when darkness was dominant, he praises Volodimer as the son of glorious Svjatoslav and grandson of old Igor'. Volodimer is also praised for having ruled his land "justly, boldly, and wisely" even before the conversion; he "did not rule in a meager and unknown land, but in the land of Rus', known well and heard about to all corners of the earth."[21] So, according to Ilarion, Volodimer even as a pagan ruler showed he was predestined to his role by Divine Providence. And at that time "the Supreme Being came upon him. . . [to show him] how to understand the delusiveness of idolatry and to discover the one true God." And Volodimer, having thrown aside a panoply of false beliefs ". . . was christened in Christ. . . and announced to his whole land that it was to be baptized. . . and everyone was to be a Christian." Ilarion expressed public feeling in those days: "And no one dared to oppose his [Volodimer's] pious order. Even if someone was baptized not for love, he was baptized for fear of him who

Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales (New York, 1974), pp. 85-90.

20 Muller, *Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 126; Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 98.

21 Muller, *Ilarion Lobrede*, pp. 100, 101; Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 91-92.

gave the order, because his piety was linked with authority."[22] Over thirty years later Nestor the hagiographer, in his Vita of Boris and Gleb, sketched a more idyllic picture: "and all hastened to be baptized, and there was nobody opposed, but as if already educated a long time, they came joyfully for baptism."[23]

Ilarion does not reduce the conversion to a single act. Noting that "at the same time our land started to glorify Christ," he also points out that this was only the beginning: "Then the obscurity of paganism started to recede from us, and the daybreak of the true faith dawned."[24] By the end of the eleventh century, a chronicler praising Jaroslav would express the same thought more allegorically: "His father Volodimer plowed and harrowed the soil, when he enlightened Rus' through baptism, while this prince [Jaroslav] sowed the hearts of the faithful with the written word; we in turn reap the harvest by receiving the teaching of the [sacred] books" (the Primary Chronicle's entry under the year 1037).[25]

Ilarion attributes the conversion of Rus' exclusively to Volodimer's merits as a teacher of the true faith: "Through you we came to know the Lord and got rid of pagan delusions. . . . The Savior himself assigned you." Unlike many other rulers who witnessed the power of Christ and of the saints but rejected the faith, Volodimer "came to the true faith, came to Christ, without those witnesses. . . owing to an upright attitude of mind and sagacity in understanding that there is God, only one Creator," who "sent to earth his one and only son for the salvation of the world." Volodimer's virtues are manifold because "he converted not one person, not ten of them, not a city, but the whole of his land."[26] Those virtues allowed Ilarion to equate the Rus' prince with Constantine the Great—the first Christian Roman emperor. According to Ilarion, the baptism of Rus' was a repetition of a previous historical situation, and Volodimer was a new Constantine. His interpretation gave the event in Rus' an autonomous character without direct reference to the "terrestrial" Byzantine connection. But for Ilarion it was inconceivable to equate Rus' with a Byzantium perceived as *orbis romanus*. He made parallels only between Volodimer and Rus' and the first Christian Roman emperor and first Christian empire. In any case, Ilarion's

22 Miiller, *Ilarion Lobrede*, pp. 102, 103-104, 105; Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 92-93.

23 *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgische Dichtungen tiber die heiligen Boris und Gleb.* Nach der Ausgabe von D. Abramovič in Auswahl neu herausgegeben und eingeleitet von L. Miiller (Munich, 1967), 4.

24 Miiller, *Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 105; Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 93.

25 *PSRL*, 1: 152; Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 137.

26 Miiller, *Ilarion Lobrede*, pp. 107, 108, 110, 116; Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 94, 95, 96.

treatise is by no means anti-Byzantine (today few authors maintain so).[27] True, he did not give Byzantium a major role in the Rus' recognition of the one true God, but he did convey essential elements that made the Byzantine impact clearly evident.

The Pantocrator guided the intentions and deeds of Volodimer. When the prince decided "to find the one true God," he, still pagan, showed very good acumen: "Then he heard of the Orthodox land of Greece, so Christ-loving and strong in faith." This recognition of Byzantine Christianity and, simultaneously, of the sources of the religious inheritance results directly from Ilarion's comparison of the acts and roles of Volodimer and Constantine: "He [Constantine] with his mother Helen brought the Cross from Jerusalem and, affirming the faith, spread it over all their land; so you with your grandmother Ol'ga carried the Cross from New Jerusalem, from the city of Constantine, and having placed it in your land, affirmed the faith."[28] The cross symbolizes not only the triumph of Christianity in Rus', but also shows its genealogy and institutional ties. The composition is an expression of utmost regard for Byzantine Christendom and at the same time a declaration of loyalty to one's own confessional affiliation, since for Kiev the city of Constantine is the New Jerusalem, a new terrestrial icon of God's City. Referring to the Byzantine capital as such, while emphasizing Volodimer's guidance directly by God, can only be interpreted as an expression of religious homage and of Kiev's desire to be a true icon of Constantinople as a New Jerusalem.[29] That in Kiev efforts were made to resemble Constantinople even in appearance is illustrated by the Constantinopolitan influence in early Kievan architecture,[30] and by travelers' impressions from about 1070 that the capital of Rus' imitates Constantinople, "the brightest ornament of Greece."[31]

27 But M. Priselkov's thesis is still alive. See, for instance, M. Ju. Brajcevs'kyj, *Utverdženie xristjanstva na Rusi* (Kiev, 1988), pp. 171-73; *Vvedenie xristianstva na Rusi* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 149-208; *Kak byla krescena Rus* (Moscow, 1988), pp. **237f.**

28 Müller, *Ilarion Lobrede*, pp. 102, 118–19; Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 92, 97.

29 Cf. N. Schneider, *Civitas Celestis: Studien zum Jerusalem Symbolismus* (Münster, 1969); Podskalsky, *Christentum* pp. 119f.

30 See C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), Reg.; Poppe, "Building of St. Sophia," pp. 30-56; A. I. Komeč, *Drevnerusskoe zodcestvo konca X – načala XII v.* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 133–232, 316–18. Cf. also P. A. Rappoport, "Oroli vizantijskogo vlijanija v razvitii drevnerusskoj arxitektury," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 45 (1984): 185-91.

31 "Magistri Adam Bremensis, Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum," in *Quellen des 9 und 11 Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches* (Berlin, 1961), p. 254. The information of the chronicler recorded between 1072-76 **that** "Ruzziae... metropolis civitas est Chive, aemula scerptri Constantinopolitani, clarissimum decus Greciae" (lib. II, §22) has been misinterpreted (also in English translation, by Tschan, 1959, p. 67) to mean that Kiev was a rival of Constantinople. But there are no grounds for such

Without diminishing the apostolic mission of Volodimer, Ilarion reached back to the prehistory of Christianity in Rus' when he called Ol'ga the grandmother of the Apostle-like ruler. Thus he showed that recognition of the true faith had begun in Rus' decades before the baptism, also with the participation of Constantinople. For Ol'ga, too, Constantinople was the New Jerusalem. In his homage to both heavenly and terrestrial powers, Ilarion knew how to strike the right chords and the right balance.

Although the vision of the Rus' conversion presented by Ilarion had above all a religious and theological shape, it also conveyed one political benefit for the newly converted country: Christian Rus' had become the equal associate of other Christian nations.

Subsequent authors did not add much to this conception of the conversion of Rus', but did borrow a good deal from it. The adopted ideas are readily found in Nestor's Life of Boris and Glěb, in the anonymous "Memory and Eulogy of Volodimer," and finally in the Primary Chronicle.[32]

The Primary Chronicle's account did not stop with Ilarion's vision, formulated half a century earlier. That vision was strongly spiritual, but skipped over many historical realities and details associated with the conversion. With the passage of time, questions arose, many things were forgotten or remembered inexactly, and legends began to proliferate. The chronicle's entry for the year 988 cannot be considered "the principal source of our knowledge of the event" of the Rus' conversion.[33] Research shows that the chronicle's account of the conversion of Rus' was a legend "vested in historical garments," and that it was a compilation written over one hundred years after the conversion took place. Its core is the legend of Volodimer's conversion at Kherson. The compilation is comprised of "The speech of philosopher" and "The confession of faith." The Kherson

an interpretation. *Aemula* also means "imitation," and this sense no doubt corresponds to the reality in the eleventh century, when Kiev endeavored to resemble the Byzantine capital.

32 As it is, the compilation known as the "Memory and Eulogy of Volodimer" belongs to the thirteenth century, even though some components can be dated to the eleventh century. See Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 116ff.; A. Poppe, in *SSS* 4 (1970): 16-18. Cf. also E. Fet, in *Slovar' knižnikov*, pp. 280-90, who repeats the improbable thesis that the Patriarchate of Constantinople opposed the canonization of Volodimer. The questions of the borrowings in "Memory and Eulogy" from Ilarion's sermon have yet to be investigated. On the Primary Chronicle, see L. Müller, "Ilarion und die Nestorchronik," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12 (1988) (forthcoming).

33 Such treatment of the Chronicle, if with some limitations, prevails; it is clearly expressed by D. Obolensky in *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453* (London, 1971), p. 193. Cf. also idem, *Byzantine Inheritance,* 2:132. For remarkable revisions of this traditional opinion, see L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich, 1987), pp. 107-116, and especially V. Wodoff, *Naisance de la chretiente russe* (Paris, 1988), pp. 63-81.

legend may originally have been Greek in language but surely was Khersonian in spirit; it was formed in the second half of the eleventh century, under the influence of still lively contacts with the Crimea, promoted by the Kiev Monastery of the Caves.[34] These contacts originated during the time of the conversion, when some members of the Kherson clergy were forced to go north and take part in the conversion of Rus'. Also the spoils of war—holy relics, church items, and icons—were sent north, because they were urgently needed for new churches in Kiev and in other Rus' cities.[35]

The chronicler, following Ilarion, attempted to present the conversion as a significant religious occurrence. So his narration was composed without a logical sequence of events, but as an interpretation of the decrees of Providence. Although the chronicle cannot be read as a reliable source for the events of 986-989, it is remarkable primary evidence of the knowledge of Christian writings and of religious and historical consciousness in Rus' at the turn of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. The chronicle's providential account of the conversion provides sufficient terrestrial data while clearly focusing attention on and amplifying the Greek role. Now it is not the Pantocrator who visits and elucidates the faith to Volodimer, but a Greek philosopher who in a long speech persuades the Rus' ruler of the superiority of "the Greek faith." The choice of faith is left to Volodimer, but with the participation of the Rus' nobility and with emphasis on the magnificence of the Byzantine liturgical rite as a substantial argument. The nobles also influence Volodimer to adopt the "Greek religion" by pointing to the good example of his grandmother Ol 'ga, "who was wiser than all other men." It seems that Volodimer is convinced, but he decides "to wait a bit."[36]

Now Providence begins to work: without any particular reason Volodimer undertakes a campaign against Kherson, captures the city, and claims from the emperors Basil and Constantine their sister Anna in marriage. The

[34] For the English text of the philosopher's speech, see Cross, *Primary Chronicle,* pp. 97–116; "Cherson Legende," ibidem, pp. 111–13, 116; "Credo," ibidem, pp. 113–15. On the literature, see Podskalsky, *Christentum* pp. 18ff., 205ff.; A. Poppe, "Legende Korsuńska," *SSS* 3 (1967): 34f. The speech may have been translated much earlier, in Bulgaria, but its adaptation addressed to Volodimer could have appeared only sometime after 1054, because of its anti-Latin tendencies.

[35] The reliability of the Primary Chronicle in stating that the relics of St. Clement and St. Phebus were brought to Kiev (*PSRL,* 1:116; Cross, *Primary Chronicle,* p. 116) and were there at the middle of the eleventh century is confirmed by a notice in the psalter "Odalrici praepositi Remensis ecclesiae." See B. de Gaiffier, "Odalric de Reims, ses manuscrits et les reliques de saint Clement a Cherson," in *Etudes de Civilisation Médiévale (IX–XII^e siecles). Melanges offerts a E.-R. Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 315–20, esp. p. 318.

[36] *PSRL,* 1:108, 106; Cross, *Primary Chronicle,* pp. 111, 110.

emperors, although equals to Volodimer, are reduced to acting as instruments of Providence, agreeing to the marriage on the condition of Volodimer's conversion. The prince informs them that he has already studied their religion and is ready to be baptized. Anna objects, but nonetheless the emperors send her to Kherson.

After Anna's arrival in Kherson, Volodimer mysteriously loses his eyesight. Upon his baptism, he is miraculously cured and says, "I have now perceived the one true God."[37] Volodimer returns Kherson to the emperors as a dowry for Anna, and together with his new bride and clergymen from Kherson returns to Kiev, where the baptism of its inhabitants soon takes place.

Eastern Orthodox tenets and the role of Kherson in the conversion of Rus' are visibly accentuated. The terrestrial reasons that made Basil II ask his prospective brother-in-law to capture the rebellious city that supported Bardas Phokas are passed over in silence.[38] Instead of a punished city, Kherson is depicted as a fortunate one, chosen by God to be the baptismal site of the ruler of Rus'. Volodimer's intent to marry a porphyrogenite becomes evident only after the city is captured. Kherson becomes the fitting site for the wedding of the Rus' prince with the Byzantine princess. So, several scores of years after Kherson was left defeated and humiliated, a pillaged and half-burned city, it was transfomed into a site chosen by Providence for glory. The Kherson legend implies that the city rendered good services both to the empire and to Rus'. For the small but influential groups (mostly clergy) from Kherson who followed Volodimer and Anna northward, Rus' became a new homeland. The legend, embellished by details of varying credibility, has held a durable place in the pragmatic exposition of the history of Rus' for nearly the last nine hundred years.

The chronicle's version of the conversion, when compared to Ilarion's, not only diminishes Volodimer's role, but also indirectly puts into question his apostolic mission. An insertion into the chronicle at the turn of the eleventh century relates the legend of the apostle Andrew wandering through Rus'.[39] The apostle's elevation of a cross on the hills that would become the site of Kiev has evident ecclesiastical and political overtones, because Andrew, according to tradition going back to the fourth century, was the first bishop of Byzantion, the city of Constantine. The cross raised

37 *PSRL*, 1: 111; Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 113.

38 For more detail, see Poppe, "Background," pp. 221-24, 238-40, 242; and idem, "Cherson and the Baptism of Rus'," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Sevcenka* (forthcoming).

39 *PSRL*, 1:7-9; Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, pp. 53-54. Cf. Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 11ff.; Miiller, *Die Taufe Russlands*, pp. 9-16.

at Kiev as an apostolic act reduced Volodimer to the role of executor of divine and apostolic predestination. Some Kievan writings contradict the legend: for instance, St. Paul is said to have been the first teacher of the Slavs.[40] Yet the departure from Ilarion's viewpoint must not be seen as a conscious attempt to discredit it. Rather, other accounts should be viewed as various answers to questions that began to emerge first among the clergy, especially in monasteries and at court. The frame of the Primary Chronicle's account is providential, but at the same time it gave the reader a colorful historical portrayal. The description well suited the perceptions of a generation whose grandfathers and great grandfathers had witnessed the conversion. A younger generation tried to reconstruct and to understand the conversion according to their own perceptions. In Kherson, tradition animated and shaped anew this Greek city's role in the event. The adoption in Rus' of Slavic writings of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the mostly ecclesiastical relations with the country of the '"true faith," added some contradictory elements to the picture. Today, after the lapse of a millennium, scholars keep toiling over accumulated enigmas.

Warsaw University

40 See *PSRL,* 1: 28; Cross, *Primary Chronicle,* p. 63. On the whole problem, see my article, "Two Concepts of the Conversion of Rus' in the Kievan Writings," to appear in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12 (1988).

The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kiev an Rus'

JAROSLAW PELENSKI

The sack of Kiev of 1169, conducted under the auspices of Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij, has received relatively little attention in historical scholarship. Particularly its significance in the contest for the inheritance of and the succession to Kievan Rus' has remained essentially unexplored. For most Russian historians and those who have followed the tradition of Russian national historiography, it has remained a difficult and inconvenient topic which does not fit into the framework of the Kiev–Suzdal'-Vladimir-Muscovy continuity theory.[1] And even those who, like Myxajlo Hrusevs'kyj (1866-1934), for example, vehemently opposed this particular paradigm of Russian national history and countered it with one of their own theories, that is, the Kiev–Galicia-Volhynia–Lithuania-Ruthenia–Ukraine succession theory, and who regarded the Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimirian area as the embryo of the Russian national state and Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij (1157–1175) as the first truly "Russian" ruler, reconstructed the sack of Kiev of 1169 from the chronicles as primarily a historical event.[2]

The two crucial accounts (*skazanija*) about the sack of Kiev of 1169 are contained in two principal sources, namely, the Kievan Chronicle (1118-1198 [1200])[3] and the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s).[4] To the best of my knowledge, the two accounts, which can best be described as two narrations about the taking of Kiev, have not been analyzed insofar as their ideological significance for the topic under consideration and for the history of political thought of Old Rus' is concerned. Characterized by a number of factual similarities, the two accounts also contain considerable

1 For the background on the Kiev–Suzdal'-Vladimir–Muscovy continuity theory, and the literature on the subject, see J. Pelenski, "The Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance,'" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (hereafter *HUS),* 1, no. 1 (1977): 29–52; idem., "The Emergence of the Muscovite Claims to the Byzantine-Kievan 'Imperial Inheritance,'" *HUS 1* (1983): 520-31.

2 M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 2 (1905/1954), pp. 196-97.

3 Concerning the text of the *skazanie* of the Kievan Chronicle, see *Ipat'evskaja Letopis'* published in *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*),2 (1908/1962), cols. 543-45.

4 The text of the *skazanie* of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) is contained in the so-called *Suzdal'skaja Letopis* , *PSRL,* 1 (1926/1962), cols. 354-55.

political and ideological divergencies. A comparison of the two texts (in my own translation) makes these points apparent.

The Kievan Chronicle

The same winter [1168/9] Andrej sent from Suzdal' against the Kievan Prince Mstislav Izjaslavic his son Mstislav with his host and with the Rostovians, and the Vladimirians, and the Suzdalians, and eleven other princes, and Boris Zidislavic: Gleb Jur'evic of Perejaslav, Roman of Smolensk, Volodimer Andrejevic of Dorohobuž, Rjurik of Ovruč, David of Vyshorod, his brother Mstislav, Oleg Svjatoslavic and his brothers Igor', Vsevolod Jur'evic, Mstislav, grandson of Jurij. . .

In the year [1169], the brothers gathered in Vyshorod, and, having arrived [in the vicinity of Kiev], they encamped on Dorohožyči at the foot [of the monastery] of Saint Cyril on the first Sunday of Lent, and beginning with the same week of Lent, besieged the entire borough of Kiev at the time when Mstislav fortified himself in Kiev, and they fought for the city. And everywhere the battle was fierce. And when in the city Mstislav was losing strength the Berendeis and the Torks deceived him. And when the city was besieged for three days, the retinues of all the princes came down [by way of] the Serxovycja, and [the Berendeis and the Torks] attacked Mstislav from the rear, beginning to shoot arrows from bows. Then Mstislav's retinue began to tell him: "What are you waiting for, Prince? Abandon the city. We shall not be able to overcome them." And God helped Mstislav Andrejevic and his brothers, and they took Kiev. And Mstislav Izjaslavic fled from Kiev toward Vasyliv. And the [pursuing] Bastej's tribe caught up with him, and began to shoot [arrows] in his back, and took captive many of his retinue. And they captured Dmytr Xorobryj,

The Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s)

The same winter [1168/9] Prince Andrej sent from Suzdal' against the Kievan Prince Mstislav his son Mstislav with the Rostovians and the Vladimirians, and the Suzdalians, and eleven other princes: Gleb of Perejaslav, Roman of Smolensk, David of Vyshorod, Volodimer Andrejevic, Dmitr, and Jurij, Mstislav and Rjurik with his brother Igor'. Mstislav Izjaslavič fortified himself in Kiev and fought hard for the city. And they besieged the city for three days. And God and the Holy Mother of God, and his father's and grandfather's prayers helped Prince Mstislav Andrejevic. And with his brothers he took Kiev, which has never happened before. And Mstislav Izjaslavič, together with his brother and a small retinue, fled to Volodymyr[-Volyns'kyj]. And they captured the prince's wife and his son, and his retinue. And for three days they plundered the entire city of Kiev with churches and monasteries. And they seized icons and books and chasubles. And that happened because of their sins, and, moreover, because of the unlawfulness of the Metropolitan, who at that time interdicted Polikarp, the Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves, on account of our Lord's holy days. He forbade him to eat either butter or milk on the holy days of our Lord, falling on Wednesdays and Fridays. And Antonios, the Bishop of Cernihiv, stood by the [Metropolitan] and repeatedly prohibited the Prince of Cernihiv to eat meats on the holy days of our Lord. But Prince Svjatoslav, ill-disposed to him, removed him from the bishopric. So, we must note, everyone of us, that no one may oppose God's law. Now let us return to the

Oleksa Dvorskyj, Sbyslav Ziroslavic, Ivanko Tvorimiric and Rod, his steward, and many others, while [Mstislav] and his brother Jaroslav joined together beyond the Unova and both went to Volodymyr[-Volyns'kyj]. And so Kiev was taken on March the 8th [12th] in the second week of Lent, on Wednesday. And for two days they plundered the entire city, both the *Podol* and the Hill, and the monasteries, and the [churches of] St. Sophia and the Mother of God, [namely] the Tithe [Church]. And mercy came from nowhere to no one, while the churches were burning and the Christians were being killed, the others being bound, the women being taken into captivity, separated by force from their husbands. The children were crying, seeing their mothers being taken away. And a multitude of property was taken, and churches were stripped of icons, and of books, and of chasubles, and all [church] bells were taken away by the Smolenians, Suzdalians, and Cernihovians, and Oleg's retinue. And all the shrines were taken. And the Monastery of the Caves of the Holy Mother of God was set on fire by the heathens, but was saved by God from such disaster, because of the prayers of the Blessed Mother of God. And moaning and suffering, and unconsoled sorrow, and unending tears befell all the people of Kiev. And all this happened because of our sins.

The beginnings of the princely rule of Gleb in Kiev

Mstislav Andrejevic installed his uncle Glěb on the throne in Kiev on March the 8th [12th]. Gleb gave Perejaslav to his son Volodimer, and Mstislav Andrejevic went to Suzdal' to his father Andrej with great honor and fame.

aforesaid. Mstislav Andrejevic installed his uncle Gleb in Kiev, and returned to Volodymyr[-Volyns'kyj], together with his retinue. In the year 1169, Mstislav Andrejevic installed his uncle Gleb in Kiev, and he himself returned to Vladimir. And Gleb gave Perejaslav to his son.

The two accounts display similarities in providing factual descriptions of the military campaign undertaken at the order of Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij against Kiev and its lawful ruler, Prince Mstislav Izjaslavic. They both talk of the forces involved in the campaign, mentioning the names of most of the eleven princes participating in it, of some aspects of the battle for the city of Kiev, of its conquest, of the capture of Mstislav Izjaslavic's wife and his son, of the sack of the city itself and its plundering, specifically of churches and monasteries, and of the removal of icons, books and chasubles, and, finally, of the installation of Glěb in Kiev by Mstislav Andrejevic, who himself returned to Vladimir in the North.

Of the two accounts, the *skazanie* of the Kievan Chronicle is much more elaborate and detailed in describing the facts surrounding the battle for Kiev and its ultimate sack. For example, its author/editor provided the exact date (Wednesday, March the 8th [12th]) for the sack of Kiev, specifically named the plundered churches (St. Sophia and the Tithe Church), and mentioned the fact that the Monastery of the Caves was spared. He also designated the lands from which the perpetrators of the sack came (Smolensk, Suzdal', and Cernihiv), mentioned the taking of the shrines, and reported on the "deceitful" role and performance of the steppe peoples (the Berendeis and the Torks) in the Kievan campaign. The account in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) simply omitted all references to the steppe peoples.

The ideological differences between the two accounts are striking. The author/editor of the Kievan account clearly identified with the city of Kiev, the fate of its inhabitants, and with their suffering. As far as the ideological explanation of the sack is concerned, he, in accordance with the Christian tradition, accepted the sack of Kiev as a just punishment inflicted upon its people for unspecified transgressions *(grex radi našix)*. This explanation is reinforced in the Kievan account by the device of lamentation, artfully and appropriately couched in biblical terms. In this context, the notion of the throne of Kiev is also utilized in the Kievan version, whereas it is excluded from the Suzdal'-Vladimirian account. There is only one reference in the account of the Kievan Chronicle that deviates from its general line of interpretation empathetic to Kiev and its ruling dynasty of Mstislavici, namely, that Mstislav Andrejevic returned to Suzdal' and to his father Andrej Jur'evic "with great honor and fame."

The Suzdal'-Vladimirian account, on the other hand, treats Kiev as a hostile entity which is deservedly sacked and punished for the sins of its inhabitants. At the same time, its author/editor remarked that the sack of Kiev was an event that had never occurred before *(egoze ne bylo nikogdaže)*. The author's expression of amazement at the sack of Kiev is articulated even more emphatically in another Suzdal'-Vladimirian

skazanie, namely, the account about the sack of Kiev of 1203, undertaken by other Rus' princes at the instigation of Vsevolod (III) Jur'evic (1176-1212). There the relevant phrase reads: *i sotvorišja veliko zlo* v *russtej zemli jakogo ze zla ne bylo ot kreščenja nad Kievom* (and a great evil befell the Rus' land, such as has not been since the baptism of Kiev).[5] This revealing reference to the time of the baptism of Kiev in connection with the sack of 1203 could have been made to minimize the impact of the commentary on the sack of Kiev of 1169. The most important justification for the sack of Kiev of 1169 in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian account, however, is offered in conjunction with the controversy over fasting on major holy days of the Lord. By blending the materials about the controversy and the interdiction of Polikarp, the Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves, by the Metropolitan of Kiev Constantine, the author/editor of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian account succeeded in advancing an interpretation which fitted well into the framework of Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij's political and ideological design. In fact, the information on the controversy in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian *skazanie* could have been only a projection of an earlier controversy concerning fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays whenever these days coincided with the major holy days of the Lord, which is attested as having taken place in Suzdal' in 1164.[6] The Suzdal'-Vladimirian account, which was designed to substantiate the position of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian branch of the dynasty in the struggle for control over Kiev, displays an obvious anti-Kievan bias.

The differences between the two accounts reflect the divergencies between the two sources in which they were incorporated, that is, the Kievan Chronicle and the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s). For the history of Kievan Rus' in the period from 1118 to 1198 (1200), that is, the period encompassing the sack of Kiev of 1169 and the time of Andrej Jur'evič Bogoljubskij's policies vis-a-vis Kiev, the Kievan Chronicle, which constitutes the second major component of the Hypatian Chronicle (columns 284-715 of vol. 2 of *PSRL*—a total of 431 columns), is in both quantitative and qualitative terms superior to the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s)—the second major component of the Laurentian Chronicle. However, contrary to the well-researched Primary Chronicle, for example, which constitutes the first major component of both the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, and which amounts to 283 columns in each of the printed editions and embraces the period from the year 852 to 1110 (a total of 258 years), the Kievan Chronicle, amounting to 431 columns (a content

5 *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), col. 418.
6 *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), cols. 351-52; *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 520-21.

ratio of 60 to 40 percent) and covering a period of about 80 years (a chronology ratio of approximately 20 to 80 percent), has received inadequate scholarly attention.[7] It deserves to be noted here, that a text of the Kievan Chronicle, prepared and translated into English over a prolonged period of time by the late Tatjana Cyzevska, will soon be published.[8] Whereas some of the components of the Kievan Chronicle have been identified by scholars over the last 120 years, many important problems of its difficult and complex text remain unresolved. Like any other chronicle or codex of this magnitude, the Kievan Chronicle provides, in addition to factual historical material, a multitude of source materials with diverse political and ideological orientations. Its principal ideological tenets with respect to Kievan Rus' are the following:

1. The capital city of Kiev, the Kievan land, and what we perceive as "Kievan Rus' "[9] are at the center of attention.

2. The authors/editors were committed to the conception of the preeminence of Kiev in Old Rus', regardless that various branches and subbranches of the dynasty were competing for the succession to the Kievan throne.

3. They adhered to the notion of continuity from the origins of Rus' to the post-Monomax Rus'.

4. They advocated a concept ideologists have defined as the unity of the Rus' lands. This attitude explains their selective, but nonetheless all-embracing incorporation and integration into the Kievan Chronicle of materials from various parts of Old Rus', which at times were even in conflict with and hostile to the concept of the unity of Rus' lands under Kiev.

5. The concepts of the historical continuity of Kievan Rus' and the inheritance of and succession to that entity were so evidently perpetuated by the authors/editors of the Hypatian Chronicle in its third major component—the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle—that at least one historian

7 For a concise description of the Hypatian Chronicle, especially its component the Kievan Chronicle, and selected literature on the subject, see O. P. Lixaceva, "Letopis' Ipat'evskaja" in "Issledovatel'skie materialy dlja 'Slovarja knižnikov i knižnosti drevnej Rusi (Drevnerusskie letopisi i xroniki),'" *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), 39 (1985): 123-28.

8 Information by courtesy of Professor Omeljan Pritsak and Dr. Paul A. Hollingsworth. Another English translation of the Kievan Chronicle has been provided by Lisa Lynn Heinrich in her unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Kievan Chronicle: A Translation and Commentary" (Vanderbilt University, 1977).

9 The concept "Kievan Rus' " was not used literally in contemporary Old Rus' sources. It has been applied by scholars to denote the period of Old Rus' history in the age of Kiev's preeminence.

has hypothesized that the Kievan Chronicle (the second major component of the Hypatian Chronicle) was continued to the year 1238 and that its last part (embracing the years 1200-1238) was integrated into the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle.[10] Even if one questions this hypothesis, there is no doubt that the main objective of the authors/editors of the Hypatian Chronicle was to present a very complete account of Kievan Rus' history, embracing a period of approximately eighty years (1118-1198 [1200]), and to emphasize their concept of historical and political continuity from Kievan to Galician Rus', as evidenced by their prefacing the entire Hypatian Chronicle with a special "Introduction," which deserves to be quoted here in full:

> These are the names of the Kievan princes who ruled in Kiev until the conquest of Batu who was in [the state of] paganism: The first to rule in Kiev were co-princes Dir and Askold. After [them followed] Oleg. And following Oleg [came] Igor'. And following Igor' [came] Svjatoslav. And after Svjatoslav [came] Jaropolk. And following Jaropolk [came] Volodimer who ruled in Kiev and who enlightened the Rus' land with the holy baptism. And following Volodimer, Svjatopolk began to rule. And after Svjatopolk [came] Jaroslav. And following Jaroslav [came] Izjaslav. And Izjaslav [was succeeded] by Svjatopolk. And following Svjatopolk [came] Vsevolod. And after him [followed] Volodimer Monomax. And following him [came] Mstislav. And after Mstislav [followed] Jaropolk. And following Jaropolk [came] Vsevolod. And after him [followed] Izjaslav. And following Izjaslav [came] Rostislav. And he [was followed] by Mstislav. And following him [came] Glĕb. And he was [followed] by Volodimer. And following him [came] Roman. And after Roman [followed] Svjatoslav. And following him [came] Rjurik. And after Rjurik [followed] Roman. And after Roman [came] Mstislav. And after him [followed] Jaroslav. And following Jaroslav [came] Volodimer Rjurikovyc. Danylo installed him in his own place in Kiev. Following Volodimer, [when Kiev was governed by] Danylo's governor Dmytro, Batu conquered Kiev.[11]

The Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s), which constitutes the second major component of the Laurentian Chronicle (columns 289-437 of vol. 1 of *PSRL)*, deals with a period of approximately 100 years, that is, from 1111 to 1212. It therefore covers twenty more years of history than the Kievan Chronicle (a ratio of 55 to 45 percent), but occupies a total of only 148 printed columns,[12] in comparison with 431 printed columns of the Kievan Chronicle (a content ratio of about 26 to 74 percent). Whereas the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) has received considerable coverage in

10 V. T. Pasuto, *Očerki poistorii galicko-volynskoj Rusi* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 21-67.

11 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 1-2.

12 Concerning a discussion of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s), and the literature on the subject, consult Ju. A. Limonov, *Letopisanie Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoj Rusi* (Leningrad, 1967) and Ja. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Lavrent'evskaja" in "Issledovatel'skie materialy," *TODRL* 39 (1985): 128-31.

historical literature, the relationship between the various original chronicles and codices that have been integrated in its text has not been clearly established. The same can be said about the relevant material (up to the year 1203) in the Radziwiłł Chronicle and the (Suzdal'-)Perejaslav Chronicle (or the Chronicle of the Russian Tsars), the text of which for the years 1138–1214 coincides with that for the same period of the Radziwiłł Chronicle.[13] In particular, the interconnection between the hypothetical Chronicles of Jurij Dolgorukij and Andrej Bogoljubskij, as well as the hypothetical Vladimirian Codices of 1177 (1178 [?]) and 1189, which presumably were used by the authors/editors of both the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, and the hypothetical Chronicle of 1212 have not been sufficiently investigated.[14]

The political and ideological orientation of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) with regard to the problem of the Kievan inheritance or succession (as reflected in the text of the Laurentian Chronicle) is as follows:

1. The capital city of Kiev, the Kievan land, and "Kievan Rus' " are treated from the Suzdal'-Vladimirian perspective.

2. The authors/editors devoted relatively limited space to the discussion of the protracted struggle for Kiev in 1146–1162, particularly the one conducted by Jurij Dolgorukij until 1157 for the Kievan throne and supremacy over Rus' from Kiev.[15]

3. They advocated the preeminence of the Rostov-Suzdalian branch of the dynasty over other branches of the dynasty and of the northern centers over the city of Kiev and the Kievan coreland.

4. They advanced justifications for downgrading and even outrightly subordinating Kiev to Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma.

5. They promulgated policies and ideological justifications beneficial to the Rostov-Suzdalian branch of the dynasty and disadvantageous to Kievan interests.

In order to better understand the historical context in which the sack of Kiev of 1169 took place and its significance for the contest for the inheritance of and the succession to Kievan Rus', one has to look at the policies

13 For a brief description of the Radziwiłł Chronicle, and the relevant literature, see Ja. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Radzivilovskaja" in "Issledovatel'skie materialy," *TODRL* 39 (1985): 141-43. A short bibliographical note on the "Letopisec Perejaslavlja Suzdal'skogo" was provided by O. V. Tvorogov, ibid., p. 110.

14 A convenient summary of the discussion of these interconnections, and especially two useful schemata of these hypothetical codices and chronicles, on the basis of research conducted until the mid-1960s, has been provided by Limonov, *Letopisanie*.

15 The discussion of that contest for succession is limited in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) to 40 columns (cols. 312-51 in *PSRL*, 1 [1926/1962]).

and some relevant ideological undertakings sponsored by Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij and his protagonists with regard to Kiev prior to the sack and following it.

I. Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij's initial involvement in Kievan affairs dates back to the years 1149–1155. During that time he appeared in Kiev in connection with Jurij Dolgorukij's quest for the Kievan throne and its takeover, following the defeat of Izjaslav Mstislavic of Volhynia in 1149.[16] He participated in the successful battle of Luck, but, apparently unenthusiastic about the continued military campaign, he attempted to mediate a truce between Jurij and Izjaslav.[17] According to the Suzdal'-Vladimirian version, Andrej intended to return to the Suzdal' land in 1151, but his father evidently "detained him for a while."[18] This is one of the rare instances in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) where Andrej Jur'evic is criticized. Apparently he had participated in his father's Kievan campaign of 1154–1155,[19] and, following Jurij's takeover of Kiev, received Vyshorod in 1155.[20] This placed him in line for the Kievan succession.[21] However, uninterested in making use of that opportunity, he left Vyshorod for the Suzdal' land.[22] By making that decision, "he had abandoned sacred tradition. Never before had the promise of inheritance of the Kievan throne been so unequivocally rejected."[23]

Andrej's break with the Kievan tradition is highlighted in the accounts of the two chronicles. They blend the information about his departure from the Kiev area with a brief *skazanie* about the prince's removal of the Icon of the Blessed Mother of God from Vyshorod, an icon which was to make an extraordinary ideological career in Russian history as the famous Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir.[24] A comparison of the relevant accounts in the two chronicles will reveal different approaches of their authors/editors:

16 *PSRL,* 1 (1926/1962), cols. 323-26; *PSRL,* 2 (1908/1962), cols. 386-92. For the most recent treatment of Andrej Bogoljubskij's career, and the relevant literature, see E. S. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: The Man and the Myth* (Florence, 1980).

17 *PSRL,* 1 (1926/1962), col. 329; *PSRL,* 2 (1908/1962), cols. 404-405.

18 *PSRL,* 1 (1926/1962), col. 335.

19 Indirectly *PSRL,* 2 (1908/1962), col. 480.

20 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 478.

21 Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij,* p. 12.

22 *PSRL,* 2 (1908/1962), col. 482.

23 Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij,* p. 12.

24 For the recent treatments of the icon's career, and the relevant literature, see N. N. Voronin, "Iz istorii russko-vizantijskoj cerkovnoj bor'by XII v.," *Vizantijskij vremennik* (hereafter *W),* 26 (1965): 190-218; D. B. Miller, "Legends of the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir: A Study of the Development of Muscovite National Consciousness," *Speculum* 43, 4 (1968): 657-70; Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij,* pp. 54-59.

The Kievan Chronicle

The same year [1155] Prince Andrej went from his father from Vyshorod to Suzdal' *without his father's permission* [my italics—J.P.] and *he took* from Vyshorod the Icon of the Blessed Mother of God which was brought from Cesarjagrad on the same ship with the Pirogosca [icon]. And he had it framed in thirty-*grivny*-weight-of-gold, besides silver, and precious stones, and large pearls, and having thus adorned [the icon], he placed it in his own church of the Mother of God in Vladimir.[25]

The Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s)

The same year [1155] Prince Andrej went from his father to Suzdal', and he brought with him the Icon of the Blessed Mother of God which was brought from Cesarjagrad on the same ship with the Pirogosca [icon]. And he had it framed in thirty-*grivny*-weight-of-gold, besides silver, and precious stones, and large pearls, and having thus adorned [the icon], he placed it in his own church in Vladimir.[26]

The two accounts are similar, except for several, crucially important differences in wording. According to the Kievan Chronicle, Andrej Jur'evic Bogoljubskij acted improperly and even unlawfully, by leaving Vyshorod without his father's permission and by taking with him the icon of the Blessed Mother of God. The authors/editors of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s), on the other hand, omitted the phrase "without his father's permission" and eliminated mention of Vyshorod, the original domicile of the icon in Rus'. The authors/editors of some sixteenth-century Muscovite chronicles were even more uninhibited, as far as the elimination of Vyshorod and the Kievan land, that is, the original Rus' domicile of the icon, from their accounts was concerned: they simply stated that "the pious prince Andrej Bogoljubskij brought from Constantinople the miraculous icon, the image of the Blessed Mother of God."[27] A comparison of the relevant accounts supports the conclusion that the removal of the icon from Vyshorod was viewed from the Kievan perspective as a hostile and even illegal act, and from the Suzdal'-Vladimirian and later Muscovite perspective as an act of breaking away from Kiev and not of succeeding to it.

II. Once he departed from the Kievan area, Andrej Jur'evic embarked on the policy of creating a strong patrimonial territorial state in the principality of Rostov-Suzdal' and of elevating Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma as its princi-

25 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 482.

26 *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), col. 346.

27 See the Voskresensk Chronicle (*PSRL*, 8, p. 254) and the Second Sofija Chronicle (*PSRL*, 6, p. 254). Cf. also I. U. Budovnic, *Obščestvenno-političeskaja mysl' drevnej Rusi (XI–XIV vv.)* (Moscow, 1960), p. 242, fn. 25. Another tradition in sixteenth-century Muscovite political thought, which placed great emphasis on the Kievan domicile of the icon, was represented by the *Pověst'* included in the *Kniga stepennaja* (*PSRL*, 21, 2 [1913/1970]), pp. 424-40.

pal center and that of the entire Rus'. That policy extended from 1157, when Andrej Jur'evic was installed in Rostov and Suzdal', to 1167, when he became involved in the contest for Kiev. During that period Andrej Jur'evič's interests in and activities vis-a-vis Kiev were limited, and from 1161 to 1167 he practically did not interfere into Kievan affairs.[28] He did, however, conduct during 1157–1169 ecclesiastical policies aimed at establishing direct princely control over the see of Rostov, at separating it from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitanate of Kiev, and at creating a new metropolitan see of Vladimir, completely independent of Kiev and subordinated directly to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[29]

Andrej Bogoljubskij's ecclesiastical policies have been analyzed in scholarship primarily from the Vladimirian and Byzantine perspectives.[30] They have received limited attention insofar as their significance for the inheritance of and succession to Kiev is concerned. As is well known, Andrej Jur'evic's attempts to create the metropolitan see of Vladimir in direct opposition to the Kievan metropolitanate was firmly rejected by the Byzantine patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges in about 1168 and resulted in Andrej's major political defeat.[31] It can be concluded, therefore, that if he wanted to continue his quest for supremacy over all Rus', Andrej faced two options: (1) to perpetuate the political tradition to rule Kiev and Rus' from Kiev, as did his father Jurij Dolgorukij, among others; or (2) to destroy Kiev as the center of power and prestige in Rus', and to subordinate it as a dependency in his new system of Rus' lands, ruled from Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma. The campaign of 1168, the sack of Kiev of 1169, and the installation of Glěb in Kiev attest to his choice of option two.

III. By sacking Kiev in 1169 and installing his brother as prince in the city, Andrej Jur'evic succeeded, at least for a brief time (less than two years), in bringing option two to realization. However, he was unable to keep Kiev in a subordinate position following Gleb's death in 1171. A coalition of

28 Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij* p. 16.

29 Ibid., p. 23.

30 For the four related treatments, and the literature on the subject, see N. N. Voronin, "Andrej Bogoljubskij i Luka Xrizoverg: Iz istorii russko-vizantijskix otnosenij XII v.," *W* 21 (1962): 29-50; I. Sevčenko, "Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, ed. J. M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman (London, 1967), pp. 93-104; W. Vodoff, "Un 'parti theocratique' dans la Russie du XII^e siecle," *Cahiers de civilisation medievale* 17, 3 (1974): 193-215; Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, pp. 23-36.

31 Concerning the Russian translation of Lukas Chrysoberges's letter to Andrej Bogoljubskij, see *Russkaja Istoriceskaja Biblioteka*, 6 (2nd ed., 1908), cols. 63-68. The Nikon Chronicle's "additions" (cols. 68-76) must be treated with caution, because they are representative of sixteenth-century Russian political thought.

Rostislaviči of Smolensk and Mstislav of Volhynia opposed Andrej's plans for Kiev and his candidate to rule in Kiev, Mixail Jur'evic. Andrej, on his part, began, as in 1168, to organize a coalition of princes to settle the contest for Kiev. The Olgovici of Cernihiv temporarily sided with him. By 1173, he again managed to assemble a major army with 20 princes which, according to the apparently inflated information of the Kievan Chronicle, amounted to 50,000 men.[32] The huge army conducted operations in Southern Rus' and the Kievan area, but was decisively defeated by the Volhynian-Smolensk coalition. The Kievan Chronicle commented that the "entire force of Prince Andrej of Suzdal', which had assembled from all the lands and which amounted to a countless multitude of warriors, arrived haughtily and departed humbly."[33] Thus, Andrej's second attempt at conquering Kiev had failed. However, that defeat did not quell his efforts to take Kiev, because he again made plans to impose his control over that city. Only Andrej's death on 29 June 1175, at the hands of his political opponents, saved Kiev from his further destructive designs.

IV. A discussion of Andrej Bogoljubskij's attitudes toward Kiev would be incomplete without mention of the *Povesf ob ubienii Andreja Bogoljubskogo*, a narration written by his protagonists following his death. The *Povesf* can best be described as a eulogy and a political-ideological treatise glorifying Bogoljubskij and his achievements. Paradoxically enough, its most extensive version was included in the Kievan Chronicle, which, with a few minor exceptions, was critical of and even hostile to him.[34] The author(s) of the *Povesf* juxtaposed Kiev to Vladimir, Vyshorod to Bogoljubovo ("and as far as Vyshorod was from Kiev, so far was Bogoljubovo from Vladimir"), the Golden Gates of one capital city to the other, the martyrdom of Andrej to that of Saints Boris and Glěb; they also glorified Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma. Their purpose was obvious: besides glorifying Bogoljubskij, they intended to enhance the image of Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma at the expense of Kiev, by elevating its status at least to that of the latter capital. Why, then, was this *Povesf,* so favorably predisposed to Bogoljubskij and his political designs, included in the Kievan Chronicle? The editors of the latter apparently incorporated it because it had relevance to Kievan history. Evidently their general attitude was to integrate in the

32 *PSRL* 2 (1908/1962), col. 573.

33 *PSRL*,2 (1908/1962), cols. 577-78.

34 For the text of the extensive *Povesf,* see *PSRL,* 2 (1908/1962), cols. 580-95 (nearly 15 columns). The text of the short version, included in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) *(PSRL,* 1 [1926/1962], cols. 367-69), amounts to one and a half columns, therefore a ratio of nearly 10 to 1.

chronicle all the Kiev-related material, regardless of its contents. It follows that the editors of the Kievan Chronicle, similarly to those of the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, did not hesitate to accept the entire Kievan inheritance, because they considered themselves to be its rightful heirs, whereas the editors of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) used materials selectively and adapted them to their political and ideological needs.

Russian historiography is characterized by two contradictory approaches in the evaluation of Andrej Bogoljubskij's reign and his policies vis-a-vis Kiev. On the one hand, Russian historians have tended to view Bogoljubskij's policies toward Kiev as a break with the history of Old Rus', and his reign and endeavors in Rostov-Suzdal' and his capital city of Vladimir as the beginning of a new period in Russian history that laid foundations for the establishment of a national centralized Russian state in the Muscovite age. (A. E. Presnjakov and N. N. Voronin modified somewhat the thesis concerning the innovative and "proto-Muscovite" nature of Bogoljubskij's reign and policies.) At the same time, Russian historiography, with the exception of Presnjakov and a few of his followers, has continued to adhere to the late medieval/early modern theory of continuity from Kiev through Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir to Muscovy, developed by Muscovite chroniclers, bookmen, and ideologists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, even though this theory has been qualified by the thesis concerning the feudal fragmentation of Old Rus'. The sack of Kiev of 1169 and the policies of Andrej Bogoljubskij vis-a-vis Kiev serve as primary evidence against the Muscovite Russian continuity theory.

1. The sack of Kiev of 1169 was a logical outcome of Andrej Bogoljubskij's Kievan policies, aimed not at the "neutralization" of the ancient capital of Old Rus', but at its subordination to Vladimir. The fundamental differences between Bogoljubskij's attitudes with respect to the contest for the Kievan succession and those entertained by other competitors, as well as those displayed by his father Jurij Dolgorukij, were manifested in his decisions (a) not to personally take charge of the military campaigns designed to take over Kiev, (b) to sponsor the sack of Kiev of 1169, an unprecedented act of violence against the mother of the Rus' cities, (c) not to be installed on the Kievan throne, (d) to attempt to establish a separate metropolitan see in Vladimir, in opposition to the metropolitan see of Kiev, (e) to advance claims to reign over all Rus' from Vladimir.

2. The sack of Kiev of 1169 fundamentally changed the perception of Kiev and the Old Rus' polity in the minds of the Rostov-Suzdalian and later Vladimirian branch of the dynasty, as well as of other branches of the dynasty and their elites. This perception was at first characterized by a dichotomy of approaches, that is, (a) to tentatively retain lineal dynastic

connection and selective identification with Kiev, on the one hand, and (b) to downgrade its status and subordinate it completely to Vladimir, on the other. This dual approach to Kiev is reflected in the political programs advanced by Vsevolod (III) Jur'evic, Jaroslav Vsevolodovic, and Aleksandr Jaroslavic Nevskij, who, independently or with the help of Mongol-Tatars, attempted to obtain the title of Kiev. Aleksandr Nevskij, for example, is credited by the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) with having succeeded in obtaining from the Mongols "Kiev and the whole land of Rus'."[35] However, the lineal dynastic connection to Kiev was simply eliminated in the *Vita* of Aleksandr Nevskij, written from a devotional point of view. It provides a dynastic lineage reaching back only to Nevskij's father Jaroslav Vsevolodovic and his grandfather Vsevolod (III) Jur'evic, both of Suzdal'-Vladimir, and extolls the image of the Suzdal' land, but it refrains from mentioning Kiev and the land of Rus', thus breaking the link with the Kievan tradition.[36]

3. The sack of Kiev of 1169, the ensuing policies of the Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimirian branch of the dynasty toward Kiev, and the evolution of its ideological programs undermine the validity of the theory of continuity from Kiev through Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir to Muscovy. They show that from 1155/1157 the Suzdal'-Vladimirian branch of the dynasty and the influential elements of northeastern Rus' aimed first at breaking away from Kiev, then at subordinating it to Vladimir, and, finally, at eradicating it from historical memory.

University of Iowa

35 *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), col. 472.

36 Concerning the most recent critical edition of the *Zitie Aleksandra Nevskogo*, see Ju. K. Begunov, *Pamjatnik russkoj literatury XIII veka: "Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli"* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965), pp. 159-80, especially pp. 159, 165, 178.

Religious Sites in Kiev During the Reign of Volodimer Sviatoslavich

PETRO P. TOLOCHKO

The date of the official introduction of Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus' is rightfully considered to be 988. Many scholars have interpreted this event, which is undoubtedly of great historical importance, as an almost simultaneous and general enlightenment of the Rus' people that came in the wake of Volodimer's own enlightenment. For the chroniclers, 988 divided the history of the Eastern Slavs into two periods: the heathen period, when the Rus' people were in total darkness and ignorance; and the Christian period, when the light of spirituality and culture appeared. The thesis of "darkness and light" does make sense, but it must not be taken as absolute nor, especially, simplified. Christianity began to penetrate into Rus', at first into Kiev, more than a hundred years before the reign of Volodimer. Paganism survived among the populace even two hundred years after the official baptism of Rus'.[1]

The reign of Volodimer was the most complex in terms of the formation of an ideological system. The right solution was not found immediately. The first attempts to create such a system, as is so often the case, consisted of patching the old rather than introducing the new. Realizing that the unity of Rus' could not be based merely on the military might of the central government, Volodimer tried from the outset to make the idea of unity important for all the East Slavs. For this purpose he built on the hills of Kiev, outside the princely court, a new pagan temple with a pantheon of the six chief gods of Kievan Rus'—Perun, Khors, Dazhboh, Stryboh, Symarhl, and Mokosha.

Where was this temple and sacrificial altar located? Ever since V. V. Khvoika's discovery, it has been identified with the remains of a stone shrine in the center of the most ancient settlement. The structure consisted of various-sized slabs of sandstone mixed with clay and it had an ellipsoid shape (with dimensions of 4.2 by 3.5 meters). Four-cornered projections (0.7 to 0.8 meters) emerging from the four sides of the temple were oriented

P. P. Tolochko, *Drevniaia Rus': Ocherki sotsial 'no-politicheskoi istorii* (Kiev, 1987).

to the four points of the compass.[2] The discovery excited great interest and attracted the attention of many scholars. The most thorough studies were by K. V. Bolsunovs'kyi immediately after the completion of Khvoika's excavations and by M. K. Karger after the monument was reexamined in 1937. Without questioning the religious nature of the building, scholars have interpreted its specific purpose variously. Bolsunovs'kyi connected the open altar with the cult of the Slavic god Svitovyd.[3] Following A. A. Dintses, Karger believed that it was at the temple of Perun that Oleg, Igor' and Sviatoslav swore oaths.[4]

Karger thought that Bolsunovs'kyi's connection, which was based on a comparison of the four projections of the Kiev temple with the four faces of the well-known Zbruch idol, was naive. It does not strike me as such. But perhaps we should talk not about Svitovyd, who was a deity of the Western Slavs, but about his Eastern Slavic equivalent, Rod, as B. O. Rybakov demonstrated.[5] In any case, there is every reason to believe that Igor' and Sviatoslav did not swear oaths at this altar. Of particular interest in this respect is a chronicle entry for 945 which discusses the arrival of a Byzantine mission in Kiev: "ЗауТра призва Игорь слы, и приде на холмъ, где стояше Перунъ, и покладоша оружье СВое, и шиты и золото, и ходи Hropb port."[6] A literal reading of the chronicle suggests that the mission first went to Prince Igor' 's residence and then, together with Igor' and his retinue, to the temple of Perun, which stood on a "hill." We learn where this "hill" was located from a chronicle entry for 980: "Н постави [Volodimer] кумиры На холму внѣ flВора теремнаго: Перуна древяна, а главу ero сребряену, а усъ златъ, Н Хърса, flaacbSora, Н Стрибога, Н Симарьгла, и Мокошь. . . и осквернися кровьми земля Руска н холмъ тъ."[7]

The conclusion that the old Kiev temple ceased to function in the first half of the tenth century and was moved to a new place, outside the oldest fortifications, has been confirmed by archaeological excavations.

In 1975, in the course of excavations by the Kiev Archaeological Expedition, the foundations of a mysterious structure were discovered beneath the building at 3 Volodymyrs'ka Street. Trenches had been dug beneath it in the loess to a depth of 60 to 90 centimeters. The trenches were filled with large stones, broken pieces of thin, large bricks, pieces of slate,

2 V. V. Khvoika, *Drevnie obitateli Srednego Podneprov'ia i ikh kul'tura* (Kiev, 1913), p. 66.
3 K. V. Bolsunovskii (Bolsunovs'kyi), *Zhertvennik Germesa—Svetovida* (Kiev, 1909), pp. 5-12.
4 M. K. Karger, *Drevnii Kiev*, vol. 1. (Kiev, 1959), p. 112.
5 B. A. Rybakov, *Iazychestvo drevnykh slavian* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 458-61.
6 *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 39.
7 *PVL*, pt. 1, p. 56.

fractions of lime-water with admixtures of ground brick, and other materials dating to the tenth century. The plan was an elongated rectangle 1.75 meters wide and extending 7 meters from north to south. Projecting out from the rectangle's northern, southern, and eastern sides were six rounded symmetrical projections shaped like flower petals. The two large projections were close to 2 meters in diameter; the four smaller ones were 1 meter in diameter.[8]

The unusual configuration of the foundations of the structure, precisely oriented with the points of the compass, as well as the presence of early material, leads us to conclude that these are the remains of a religious structure from the pre-Christian era. They could well be the remains of the temple that is mentioned in the chronicle entries for 945-980. The six petal-shaped projections could have served as pedestals for idols of the six Slavic gods, namely, Perun, Khors, Dazhboh, Stryboh, Symarhl, and Mokosha. This is supported by the discovery on the southern side of a large ashpit located in a cup-like depression close to 3 meters in diameter. It contained layers of coals and ash, burnt clay, and a large quantity of animal bones, mostly of bulls. A study of the stratigraphy of the ashpit confirms that it was formed by the burning of a ritual fire. This finding fits in well with the Hustyn' Chronicle, which reports that an eternal fire was maintained beside the temple of Perun. In nature this ashpit resembles the sacrificial post discovered by Khvoika in 1908 beside the temple at the center of the oldest part of the city. That temple was surrounded by small round pits filled with ashes, coals, and shards of tenth-century ceramic pottery. Similar ashpits were discovered in the nineteenth century when Volodimers'ka Street was being laid out, and during S. S. Hamchenko's excavations in 1926.

Observations of the way in which the foundation trench was filled indicate that the structure was deliberately destroyed. We know from the Primary Chronicle that this could have happened in 988. Although the chronicle, which so dramatically describes the overthrow of the idols, contains no reference to the fate of the pagan temple, we can assume that Volodimer destroyed it just as he destroyed the idols. Iakov Mnikh's "Pokhvala kniaziu Volodymyru" reports that he dug up and smashed pagan temples and broke up their idols.

It is difficult to say anything certain about the exteriors of the two pagan temples on Starokyivs'ka Hill. The saga of Olafr Tryggvason contains words that describe the pagan temple of the tenth century as a shrine in which idols were kept. "Olafr," the saga says, "never respected the idols and always tried to act accordingly. Nevertheless he frequently accom-

8 P. P. Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 40-42.

panied the *konungr* to the temple, and yet never went inside but stood outside the door," presumably while Volodimer made sacrifices to his gods. The testimony of the saga has not been confirmed by archaeological evidence.

A second pagan temple stood in the Podil, or lower town. This was the temple of Veles, "the cattle god," patron of merchants and traders. The "Zhitie Volodymyra'' states that the Kiev prince ''Волоса идола, его асе называли скотьим 6огоМ, повелел В Почайну реку сбросить.'' The precise location of the shrine to Veles is unknown, but since Veles was replaced in the Christian era by St. Vlasii, also a patron of cattle, we can assume that the Church of St. Vlasii was erected on the site of the pagan temple. That church was located on Nyzhnii Val Street, on the border between the Podil and the Obolon' districts, where the cattle of Kiev were pastured. In the tenth century the present-day Voloshs'ka Street in the Podil went past the temple of Veles to the Obolon' pasture. In the late Middle Ages the street was also called "Skotoprohonna."

Volodimer's attempt to revive paganism did not bring the results that he hoped for. The pantheon of six gods on the Starokyivs'ka Hill did not make Kiev into the ideological center of pagan Rus', nor did it eliminate local autonomist tendencies. Today, a thousand years later, it is evident that Volodimer and his followers made a serious political blunder. As a state religion, paganism was outdated. For most of the countries neighboring Rus', it was a stage left behind.

In Rus' Christianity had been establishing itself for more than a century. In some periods—the reigns of Askold, Ol'ga, and especially Iaropolk—it attained noticeable results. E. E. Golubinskii, the prominent church historian, believed that during the reign of Igor', Christians prevailed over pagans numerically, morally, and politically.[9] Written sources, both foreign and native, indicate from the end of the ninth to the end of the tenth centuries, two ideological systems—the pagan and the Christian—coexisted in Kiev. While eternal sacrificial fires for pagan gods burned in Kiev, Christian shrines were being built.

The Primary Chronicle speaks in detail only about the Church of St. Elias, which was the city cathedral. It was here that the Christians in Igor' 's retinue swore oaths to uphold the Rus'-Byzantium treaty of 944. We can assume that the church survived the pagan revival in the reign of Volodimer. It stood not far from the port on the Pochaina River, no doubt on the site of the present Church of St. Elias in the Podil. The naming of

[9] E. E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1880), p. 68.

shrines after shrines previously located in the same place was a tradition of the Rus' church.

Citing Joakim's Chronicle, V. Tatishchev spoke about the founding of the Cathedral of St. Sophia by Princess Ol'ga.[10] This is supported by an entry in one of the fourteenth-century Apostles, according to which St. Sophia was sanctified in 952. The cathedral was destroyed during the reign of Sviatoslav. Joakim's Chronicle relates that after his defeat beside the Danube, Sviatoslav blamed the Christians and sent his men to Kiev with orders "храмы христиан разорить и сжечь, и сам вскоре пошел, желая всех христиан погубить." After Volodimer accepted Christianity as the official state religion, the Sophia cathedral was rebuilt and a monastery was founded beside it. This was confirmed by Thietmar of Merseburg in 1018: "The archbishop of this city [Kiev] with relics of saints and various ecclesiastical adornments arranged for Boleslav and Sviatopolk a meeting at the monastery of St. Sophia, which, unfortunately, accidentally burned down last year."[11] In place of the wooden Sophia, Iaroslav the Wise erected a new stone edifice, which has survived to our time.

The first religious building erected immediately after the baptism of Rus' was the Church of St. Basil. It was built on Perun's hill in honor of its patron, Prince Volodimer: "И се рекъ, повелѣ рубити церкви и поставляти по мѣстомъ, иде же стояху кумири. И постави церковь святого Василья на холмѣ, иде же стояше кумиръ Перунъ и прочии."[12] The precise location of the Church of St. Basil has not been established. Archaeological studies of the foundations of the pagan temple have not revealed traces of a later wooden edifice. The stone Church of St. Basil that was built in 1183 in Iaroslav's Great Court was located about a hundred meters southeast of the temple. It is difficult to say on which of these two sites, located in the same district, Volodimer's Church of St. Basil stood.

The central Christian shrine in the reign of Volodimer Sviatoslavich was the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin, or the Tithes Church. According to the chronicle, it was founded in 989 and completed in 996: "Посемь же Володимеръ живяше въ законѣ хрестьянстѣ, помысли создати церковь пресвятыя Богородица, и пославъ привиде мастеры отъ Грекъ."[13] When construction was completed, the church was decorated with icons, crosses, and utensils. To maintain his church Volodimer designated a tenth of his

[10] V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriia rossiiskaia*, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962), p. 111; see also vol. 3 (1963), p. 241, note 241.
[11] *Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva*, pt. 2 (Kiev, 1874), pp. 1-2.
[12] *PVL*, vol. 1, p. 81.
[13] *PVL*, vol. 1, p. 83.

income from his realm, hence its alternate name, the Tithes Church: "flaw церкви сей святѣй Богородици отъ имѣнья Моего и отъ градъ моихъ десятую часть.''[14]

The Tithes Church was built on the site of a former graveyard, beside the oldest fortifications, which had lost importance by the end of the tenth century and had been levelled. The location of the church next to the prince's court has led researchers to regard it as his shrine. Later, after St. Sophia had been constructed, this was obviously the case, but at first the Tithes Church was the city cathedral and the residence of the metropolitan.

A second site of Christianity in tenth-century Kiev was the region of Askold's grave. Here, according to the Primary Chronicle, stood the Church of St. Nicholas, built by a certain Olma on the grave of Prince Askold. The Kiev *Synopsis* (1674) says that the church was built by Princess Ol'ga. Both chronicle accounts had their proponents and opponents, but it is generally thought that the second account is the more reliable. As a newly baptized Christian, Ol'ga would have found it natural to build a church on the grave of the first Christian prince. It is not impossible, however, that she rebuilt a church in the Uhors'ke Urochyshche, since a chapel could have stood here since the time of Askold. In the reign of Sviatoslav, as Joakim's Chronicle reported, the church on Askold's hill was destroyed. We have no reliable evidence to support the claim that Volodimer rebuilt the Church of St. Nicholas after he accepted Christianity, but at the same time there is nothing to contradict the claim. The extensive church construction that Volodimer undertook after 988 is attested to by the most ancient chronicles.

The location of religious sites in Kiev during the reign of Volodimer Sviatoslavich reflected the complex ideological situation in Kiev in the time before the official introduction of Christianity in Rus' and in the first decades after its introduction. Both pagan and Christian religious shrines appeared and disappeared in Kiev and its environs, according to the success of one or the other religious system. The beliefs had varying success even in the reign of Volodimer Sviatoslavich. At first paganism had the upper hand, and this led to the destruction of Christian shrines. Later, Christianity got the upper hand, and it was the pagan shrines and temples that were destroyed.

Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Kiev

Translated from Ukrainian by Marko Carynnyk

[14] *PVL*, vol. 1, p. 85.

The Archaeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase

JOHAN CALLMER

I. INTRODUCTION. SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

There are two kinds of source material available for the study of the development of Kiev in the earliest urban phase. First are the written sources, which provide us with so much valuable and unique information. These must be studied together with the source criticism and according to the philological methods the material calls for. The contemporary written sources and the later written sources based on contemporary notes are very narrow in scope and restricted mainly to the personal and state history of the Rurikid dynasty, short geographical and historical notes by Muslim scholars, and one rich and a few less informative Byzantine sources. The number of these sources will probably not grow considerably.

The second source base is archaeological material from surveys and excavations and from stray finds. These must be treated with methods developed by archaeologists. Archaeological sources, generally speaking, can say something about the chronology of sites, the character of settlements, economic specialization, the social structure of the population, exchange systems, and to a certain extent beliefs and some other aspects. Seldom can archaeology contribute directly to the illumination of historical problems. Indirectly, however, archaeology is of great importance for historical processes beyond the periods and areas covered by written sources. Of course, the written sources of medieval history and the archaeological sources give us answers to very different questions (Callmer 1981, p. 29). It is often difficult to combine them and to evaluate them in relation to each other. This is, of course, an elementary remark but it is also a point of utmost importance for the scholarly study of Early Medieval Eastern and Northern Europe.

To judge from the literature on the early development of Kiev, arguments from written sources and arguments from archaeological sources are often woven together into theories difficult to comprehend. This is not to deny that both kinds of sources are necessary to solve the problems of the development of Kiev, but it is obligatory that philologists and historians make their analyses and and that archaeologists reach their conclusions independently (or as independently as possible). Only if this procedure is

strictly followed is it fruitful at a later stage to compare and discuss the results. A synthesis is only possible if due attention is paid to the different characters of the source materials. We now turn to a consideration of the archaeological sources and their implications.

II. THE LANDSCAPE OF KIEV

The geographical position of Kiev is a central one. It is situated on the Dnieper, Europe's third largest river, ca. 10km (kilometers) downstream from the confluence of the Dnieper and its major tributary from the east, the Desna (fig. 1). As is often the case in this part of Eastern Europe, the river's west bank is high, with steep slopes cut by many ravines—*jary* and *balky*—in a pattern resembling the veins of a leaf. The riverbed itself is more than two kilometers wide at Kiev, and there are numerous islands and shifting banks and shallows in the river due to the masses of sand that are transported downstream during spring and autumn. Today the Dnieper's main artery is ca. 500m (meters) wide at Kiev. By contrast, the river's east bank is very low and marshy, and rises only slowly.

Kiev is situated on a plateau, ca. 3km long and ca. 1km wide, cut off from the major portion of high ground between the Dnieper and the Irpin' Rivers. The latter flows from the southwest towards the northeast and joins the Dnieper ca. 30km north of Kiev. The valleys of the small Lybid' and Syrec' Rivers are the boundaries of the Kiev plateau to the west and to the south, with the Dnieper to the east and the Pocajna River to the northeast. The Kiev plateau is divided into a number of distinct parts by numerous ravines. The ravines usually run at right angles to the main rivers, which are orientated more or less north-south. As a consequence of the well-developed system of primary, secondary, and even tertiary ravines, there is a large number of promontories with excellent natural defenses; these need only minor man-made complements to become first-rate, secure habitation sites. The ravine system as it exists today is to a certain extent the result of rapid erosion, which in turn is a consequence of successive (and now almost complete) deforestation and exposure from the tenth–eleventh century onward. The essential character of the landscape is, however, unchanged. The Kiev plateau or, as it is often called, the Kiev hills stand up to ca. 100 meters above the Dnieper. The subsoil of the hills is loess on clay, and the river valley is composed of sand and clay. The natural vegetation is a leaf forest with a dominance of oak. Maple, elm, ash, aspen and lime are also components of the natural forests in this part of the East European woodland region.

Traditionally, the Kiev area is divided into distinct segments (fig. 2). The northern part of the Kiev plateau, which faces the Dnieper, is called the hills of St. Cyril. Further down, towards the south, are two distinct hills divided by a deep ravine where the Jurkovycja brook once flowed. Inward from the plateau land stretches for more than a kilometer; this is the Luk"janivs'ka Hill. The hill's western boundary is the Syrec' River which flows in a semicircle towards the Dnieper valley. The southern boundary of this northern part of the Kiev plateau is the long and deep ravine of the Hlybocycja brook, which runs almost east-west. Continuing to the southeast of the Kiev plateau is its central part, with three distinct promontories facing the Dnieper. Furthest to the east is the Kudrjavec', followed by the much smaller Dytynka Hill and the larger but less distinct Starokyjivs'ka Hill. To the north of these promontories and to the south of the Hlybocycja lies the Kyselivka Hill, completely detached from the Kiev plateau as a result of water activity. The southern boundary of this central part of the Kiev plateau is the Xrescatyk ravine, which from the southwest runs towards the northeast. The valley floor from the Jurkovycja brook to the end of the Xrescatyk ravine is the district called the Podil. Further downstream, on the west bank of the Dnieper, the valley floor is very narrow. To the north of the Jurkovycja the valley floor is called the Obolon'. Both the Jurkovycja and Hlybocycja brooks empty into the Pocajna River, a baylike tributary of the Dnieper.

To the south of the Xrescatyk are the plateaus of Klov, the Pecers'k Monastery (Uhors'ke) and Vydubyci furthest to the south. They are partly divided from each other by ravines with brooks joining the Dnieper or the Lybid' River. On the west side of the Lybid', which runs from the northwest to the southeast, is a new succession of plateaus, one of which is the dominating Batyjeva Hill

Although the Kiev plateau today is part of the natural woodland zone, the wooded steppe zone begins not far south. In the late first millennium A.D., the border between the two zones may have run even somewhat further south.

III. SETTLEMENT IN THE KIEV REGION BEFORE THE END OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Due to the favorable geographical situation, human settlement in the Kiev region goes back to the Paleolithic era. The area was especially rich in settlements during the Roman Iron Age. In the fifth century AD. there seems to have been a certain lacuna in the settlement sequence. However, already by the end of the sixth century the Kiev plateau was resettled. A number of stray finds are datable to this period (Karger 1959, pp. 92-97), and there

are also settlement finds dating to the seventh century in central Kiev (ibid., pp. 104-105; Tolocko 1978, p. 85).

Detailed knowledge of the settlement system in the region provides a better understanding of the development of Kiev. Unfortunately, the chronology of Slavic settlement in the eighth and ninth centuries is not so well worked out as we would like. The problem is complicated by the fact that Kiev is situated in a border area between three different cultural sequences. In the western part of the Ukraine, the sequence is based on Prague-type pottery. Later development includes the Korcak and the Luka-Rajkovec'ka stages (Rusanova 1976). The latter stage may be dated to the eighth and ninth centuries. Korcak-type pottery is known in Kiev both from the Starokyjivs'ka Hill (Karger 1959, pp. 104-105; Tolocko 1978, p. 85) and from the Obolon' district close to the Pocajna River (Sovkopljas 1972). Luka-Rajkovec'ka pottery has also been found on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill (Kilijevyc 1976, p. 187) and on the Kyselivka Hill (Sovkopljas 1959, 1963).

In the wooded steppe zone there was a cultural complex with slightly changing definitions called the Pen'kivka (Rusanova 1976, pp. 85-112; Pryxodnjuk 1980; Sedov 1982, pp. 19-28). Characteristic of this complex were some types of handmade pottery and a considerable amount of wheel-turned ware. The latter type of pottery is obviously connected with nomad culture; strong interconnections with, and perhaps even symbiotic patterns involving, the nomad population of the wooded steppe and the steppe can be noted. The majority of the Pen'kivka settlements seem to have disappeared as early as the seventh and eighth centuries.

On the east bank of the Dnieper, north of the narrow ribbon of Pen'kivka settlements, one meets another cultural sequence. Here in the seventh and early eighth century, settlements of the Kolocyn type were found (Gorjunov 1975). Like the Pen'kivka complex, the Kolocyn type is known from the Middle Dnieper area north of Kiev, both east and west of the river. During the last fifteen years Kolocyn sites have been found in the vicinity of Kiev (Kravcenko et al. 1975, pp. 95-96). Especially numerous, however, were the settlements on the Desna and the Sejm. Whether this cultural complex developed into the Volyncevo type of sites of the late eighth and ninth centuries is not altogether clear. For our concern with the early development of Kiev, it is enough to say that in the second half of the eighth century settlements of the Volyncevo type were found along the Desna, Sejm and the upper Sula and Psel Rivers (Gorjunov 1981, pp. 87-90). It is also most important to note that the Volyncevo area included the Kiev region. Two distinct sites of this type have been excavated during the last decades at Xodosivka on the Dnieper (Suxobokov 1977) and at Obuxiv on the Stuhna River, a small tributary of the Dnieper (Kravcenko et al. 1975, p. 95;

Kravcenko 1978). Both localities are situated a few miles to the south of the center of Kiev.

The date of the Volyncevo settlements has been subject to much debate. This is mainly due to the very few finds from these sites of artifacts that are well dated in other complexes. The Xodosivka settlement has a considerably more precise dating through finds of imported artifacts otherwise found in the early catacomb graves of the Saltiv-Majaky culture, which are mainly dated from the end of the eighth century to ca. A.D. 800 (Icenskaja 1982). Already in the first half of the ninth century the production of the distinctive wheel-thrown Volyncevo ware was discontinued and the so-called Romny-Borševo cultural complex developed in the same area.

In the ninth century Kiev was situated along the eastern periphery of the Luka-Rajkovec'ka area. Pottery of the period differed slightly from the main pattern, for example, through the occasional occurrence of combstamp impressions on the shoulders of vessels. The Kiev region shared this trait with the Romny-Borsevo complex further to the east. The pottery of the earliest urban phase in Kiev, which probably begins in the 880s, also had some Eastern elements. In some cases we meet with typical Romny-Borsevo pottery (Tolocko 1981 A, p. 72).

Cultural development in the Kiev region during the second half of the first millennium brought considerable change in the weight of Eastern versus Western cultural traditions. Sometimes the Western elements were stronger and sometimes the Eastern ones predominated.

Ninth-century settlement in the Kiev region consisted of a number of small habitation sites (fig. 3), situated on easily fortified promontories. Whether the sites were always fortified remains uncertain. Traces of ninth-century settlement have been documented on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill. The relatively small but mostly well-spaced areas that have been available for excavation have not allowed a detailed evaluation of the size of the settlement (cf. Kilijevyc 1982, fig. 94). It is reasonable to suppose that it comprised an area of no more than one hectare. In fact, there are only two or three sunken-featured buildings there that can be dated to the ninth century; indeed, it is doubtful whether one of them actually predates the early urban phase or whether it is contemporary with its onset. The pottery shows clear Romny-Borsevo elements (ibid., p. 28). One house sits on a ledge a little below the plateau on the hill's northwestern slope. About 100m further to the east, also close to the slope, another, probably contemporary, house has been excavated (ibid., p. 141). Of the two early sunken-featured buildings in the southwestern part of the Starokyjivs'ka, one undoubtedly belongs to a period much earlier than the ninth century and the other might as well.

Among the constructions connected with the later, pre-urban phase of settlement on the Starokyjivs'ka, the sacrificial place, the so-called *kapysce,* found by Xvojka in 1908 and reexcavated by Karger in 1937, has played a more important role. The existence of an early, monumental sacrificial place has been a chief argument for the reconstruction of the pre-urban settlement in Kiev as a great center. According to Xvojka, construction at the time of the first excavation had the character of a "foundation consisting of gray sandstone slabs of different sizes and shapes" (fig. 4). These stones were set on clay and formed an elliptical figure, 4.2m long and 3.5m wide. In each direction there was a rectangular outshoot. At one side of this foundation parts of a clay floor were preserved. Close to the foundation there was also a "pillar" of considerable size, made of clay, ash, and charcoal superimposed on each other in many successive layers. Numerous animal bones were found nearby (Xvojka 1913, p. 66). This remarkable "foundation" Xvojka believed was a pagan sacrificial place. Many scholars have dated it quite early, to the eighth or ninth century (Karger 1959, p. 111; Tolocko 1970, pp. 48-49; Kilijevyc 1982, pp. 34-35). There are, however, some problems with both the interpretation of the construction and its date. First of all, Karger showed in connection with the reexcavation of the stone construction that Xvojka's drawing had not been very accurate. In the published drawing of the *kapyšče*, the general shape is a very regular oval and the offshoots are also very regular. In fact, the shape was more rectangular than oval, and in two cases the offshoots were more vague. Karger, however, does not doubt the interpretation of the construction as a sacrificial place (1959, pp. 110–11). The pillar of clay, ash, and charcoal is as curious as the foundation. It must have been a construction similar to an ashpit excavated at 3 Volodymyrs'ka Street in 1975 by the Kiev Archaeological Expedition (Tolocko and Borovs'kyj 1979). In that case, the ashpit was probably connected with a pagan place of worship. The ashpit "pillar" in Xvojka's trench is not clearly connected with the "foundation." The top level of the pillar, for example, is considerably above the level of the stone construction. Recent work on the earliest tenth-century stone architecture has brought to light some sections of a building or buildings that are conspicuously similar to the "foundation" of Xvojka (Xarlamov 1985, p. 110). This similarity has been rightly stressed by the excavator, who has carefully suggested a close connection between the building and the "foundation." The same type of handmade pottery, it should be noted, was found in a layer beneath both. It should also be remembered that Xvojka observed a floor of white clay in the vicinity of the foundation (Xvojka 1913, p. 66). Clay floors were more likely inside buildings than outside them. It must be concluded that the interpretation of the

"foundation" remains uncertain, although the pillar could perhaps be connected with the pagan cult. The date of the complex is uncertain, but it is certainly much later than the usual dating given in recent standard works—probably the early urban phase in Kiev.

In addition to the small number of sunken-featured buildings and the sacrificial spot, the moat cutting off the northwestern tip of the Starokyjivs'ka Hill is usually mentioned as part of an early center in Kiev (Kilijevyc 1982, pp. 27-28). The occurrence of some handmade pottery in the fill of the moat has been taken as proof of the early date of the fortifications. As has already been pointed out (Callmer 1981, p. 33), these observations have little relevance to the question of the date of the moat and the rampart. In some sections of the moat, brick fragments have been found (Tolocko and Hupalo 1975, p. 7). Since the use of brick could be dated to the tenth century and since the fill is probably largely identical with the rampart which, in turn, is the material thrown up during the construction of the moat, a late date for the moat could be proposed as well. Here a skeptical attitude toward the early dating seems appropriate.

When we consider the extant evidence of eighth- and ninth-century settlement (except the last two decades), there are no indications of a continuously existing fortified settlement with a considerable population on the Starokyjivs'ka. From excavations in both Western and Eastern Ukraine we know how densely built with sunken-featured buildings these settlements, fortified and unfortified, often were—for example, Xotomel' and Novotrojic'ke (Kuxarenko 1957; Ljapuskin 1958). The total area excavated on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill is considerable, so the negative evidence is important. Material from the Volyncevo phase is not distinct in Kiev, and there are no imports from the Saltiv-Majaky culture. These imports are typical of settlements dating to the late eighth and ninth centuries. There are, as yet, no early 'Abbasid dirhams from either of the Kiev settlements. Finds of dirhams and metal artifacts of the Saltiv-Majaky culture are characteristic of major settlements of the period—for example, Novotrojic'ke and Opisnja (Ljapuskin 1947, 1958).

Castle Hill, or the Kyselivka, is a rather flat plateau standing ca. 70–80m above the surrounding terrain. The slopes are quite steep, so it was easily fortified. The only serious drawback was the dominant position of the hills to the south in relation to the Kyselivka. Archers posted on these hills could severely menace defenders of the Kyselivka. All the same, there are cultural layers dating to the eighth and ninth centuries over considerable parts of the hill. Pottery here is like pottery in the fill of the sunken-featured building excavated by Karger on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill in 1939—mostly of the distinct Luka-Rajkovec'ka type (Sovkopljas 1957,

1959, 1963). Unfortunately, no house construction is documented, but this is partly due to subsequent intensive digging through the layers in connection with burials in the cemetery of the St. Flor Monastery. There are also some indications of sixth-century settlement, probably contemporary with that on the Starokyjivs'ka already mentioned.

The long but narrow promontory to the southwest of the Kyselivka, the Dytynka (Sovkopljas 1958, p. 144), has also yielded some handmade pottery with Luka-Rajkovec'ka characteristics. The material is limited, however, and no details about the character of the settlement can be gathered. Early handmade pottery has also been found on the Kudrjavec' Hill (Tolocko 1982, p. 24).

Some finds of handmade pottery have also been documented, both as stray finds and excavation finds, in the Podil, the flatland below the hills (Tolocko 1965; Hupalo 1976). But unambiguous evidence for settlement earlier than the last two decades of the ninth century is still lacking. There are no houses from the period in the Podil. The few finds of handmade pottery in this part of Kiev have either been brought there through erosion downhill from the Kyselivka (Hupalo 1982, pp. 29–31), or belong to the very earliest settlements in the Podil, in the 880s. Still, in the tenth century handmade pottery was in use in the Ukraine, especially in the countryside (Suxobokov 1977, p. 75ff.).

As has already been noted, settlement material of the Korcak type (sixth and seventh centuries) has been excavated on the bank of the Pocajna River in the Obolon' district, north of the Podil. The Obolon' is situated at a higher level above the river than the Podil and was accessible to settlers before the ninth century.

Evidence of eighth- and ninth-century settlement in other parts of central Kiev is lacking. This does not mean that there were no other settlements there, for unfortunately, excavations in Kiev have been done largely in just some central areas. If such settlements did exist, they were most probably of the same type—small and basically rural in character.

Consequently, no early center is discernible in the Kiev region. There was no definite princely site with administrative and economic functions extending beyond the vicinity of Kiev. There is no evidence of long-distance trade connections in the period. The numismatic evidence, which is completely non-existent, seems in this case to be decisive. It is uncertain whether there were any eighth- and ninth-century Arabic dirhams at all in the Kiev region in the ninth century (cf. Callmer 1981, p. 46). A find of four ninth-century dirhams "from Kiev" must be considered suspect (Fasmer 1931, p. 15). Imports from the Saltiv-Majaky culture are known from at least one settlement in the vicinity of Kiev belonging to the Volyncevo

settlement type, but they are unknown for the later center of Kiev, except for a very small number of sherds (Tolocko 1981, p. 361).

Kiev was certainly not a likely tribal center in this period. The archaeological material of the eighth and early ninth centuries is not consistent with the idea of Kiev as the center of a homogeneous tribal territory. An analysis of material culture remnants in the Dnieper Basin around Kiev indicates a rather extreme border zone character of settlement. In some parts of the Right Bank, as in Kiev itself, the Luka-Rajkovec'ka settlements centered in southern Polissja, Volhynia, and Podolia reached the Dnieper; elsewhere, the Volyncevo-type settlements centered in Severia reached the Left Bank. This borderland character goes back even further: in the sixth–seventh centuries the parallel occurrence of Koločyn-type sites and Korcak-type settlements in the Kiev region can be noted.

IV. KIEV IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE NINTH CENTURY AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE TENTH CENTURY

Given the commonplace character of settlement and the modest size of its early settlements, the subsequent development of Kiev was clearly connected with a rapid and tremendous change in economic, social, and certainly also in political conditions over a period of only one to two generations. A few decades into the tenth century, a completely new human society must have evolved.

Unfortunately, a detailed chronology allowing a close study of the dynamics of development from the late ninth century to the late tenth and early eleventh centuries has not been worked out. Pottery, the most important evidence for the dating of settlement, cannot as yet be dated closer than within two generations to a century. Hoards, single coins, and jewelry can give certain suggestions for a closer dating, but generally this is also vague. Architecture, especially stone architecture, can be used for certain chronological grouping. But dating the dynamic development of Kiev by observations of these categories of material is still unsatisfactory. Only in the Podil can dendrochronological samples from wooden architecture furnish us with more precise information about the development of settlement. Here we follow that development from the late ninth century to the beginning of the eleventh century in two stages. The mid-tenth century is the divide between the two stages. For most materials it is possible to separate early from late material within the period from the late ninth century to the early eleventh century (e.g., Tolocko 1981B, pp. 298-301).

Settlement in the Kiev region from the end of the ninth century onwards is known from a number of different localities (fig. 5). The main settlement areas were located along the hills and in the Podil. The northernmost

settlement area was probably on the hills above Frunze Street. Material that can be dated to the late ninth and early tenth century is scarce in this area, and consists mostly of stray finds. It has been suggested that a fort on the Jurkovycja Hill, above the Iordanivs'ka Church, was the site of a late-ninth to tenth-century fortified settlement. Excavations by Maksymov in this sector suggest that the fortified settlement may be connected with the Zarubynci culture of the Pre-Roman Iron Age rather than with the early Middle Ages. The idea of a fortified, late ninth- or tenth-century settlement in this part of Kiev should not be dismissed altogether, however. Finds and observations in the vicinity suggest the existence of both a settlement and gravesites. The settlement may have been partly or largely destroyed by erosion and clay digging along the hillsides. One of the early finds is a H-type sword found near the Iordanivs'ka Church (Karger 1959, p. 217) which probably belongs to the late ninth or early tenth century. There are also graves on the heights, of which there were probably many more. Many of these graves were excavated by Xvojka in the early years of this century (Xvojka 1913, p. 57). His scanty excavation results indicate that several of these graves were tenth-century cremations, probably under low barrows and in some cases displaying the local custom of a clay bed for the disposal of cremation remains (Sedov 1982, p. 108). There were, however, also urn burials in pits, which were characteristic of Volyncevo and perhaps of early Romny graves (ibid., p. 138). Numerous tenth-century inhumation graves in barrows were also excavated. Others were chamber graves, some with Scandinavian-type artifacts (Karger 1959, pp. 180-95). The information about graves in this area, gathered together by Karger and labeled as cemetery II, strongly suggests the existence, in the tenth century and perhaps already at the end of the ninth century, of a complex of cemeteries with varying mortuary rites. The chamber graves, for example, were concentrated in the region close to where the Iordanivs'ka Church would later be built. It is, as already stressed, most plausible that these cemeteries existed because of considerable settlement in the area. In 1965, evidence of a tenth-century, sunken-featured building on the Jurkovycja Hill was obtained, and in this connection contemporary graves were also excavated (Toločko 1970, p. 68; Maksymov and Orlov 1982). Nineteenth-century antiquarians also describe the remains of a secular stone building in the immediate vicinity of the Iordanivs'ka Church (Petrov 1897, p. 35). The exact date of the building's construction is, of course, uncertain.

Considering the total archaeological evidence of settlement and graves in this area, settlement and population in this part of Kiev must have been extensive. It is not likely that the area was simply the necropolis of the Podil. If the populace dug their graves on the hills, the Scekavycja was the

more likely location, as were the hills further south. The archaeological implications must be given their due weight, although information about this part of Kiev derives mostly from outdated studies. With the exception of the excavation in 1965 already mentioned, almost no modern fieldwork has been carried out in the area. Yet this part of Kiev played an important role in the earliest stage of the center's development. There are two main reasons for this interpretation. First, the physical distance of this settlement from others further south was considerable (ca. 2000m). Second, the complexity of the archaeological material suggests a distinct and fully developed settlement with its own population. The identification of this settlement, which may or may not have been fortified, with the mysterious fortress Σαμβατάς mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus remains highly speculative (cf. Bulkin et al. 1978, p. 14). Rather, it may have consisted of a number of prominent households, perhaps including a chieftain's or a prince's residence. The population was obviously mixed, comprising various local and exogenous elements including a Scandinavian elite. The evidence about habitation and graves indicates that settlement in this area was restricted mainly to the tenth century.

As in the eighth century and probably also during the early ninth century, settlement on the Kyselivka Hill was extensive. Archaeological material about the settlement, although not rich, is more varied than that from the Jurkovycja area. On the northwestern part of the hill's plateau, three sunken-featured buildings have been excavated (Mahura 1934; Rozkopy 1947; Bohusevyc 1952). Also found were the remains of a stone and brick building, probably *rudera* of a secular building thought to be of tenth- or eleventh-century date. The tenth-century date rests on the description by Petrov (1987 p. 260) and is uncertain. The later date is proposed because Bohusevyc actually found brick fragments of eleventh-century date (1952 p. 68). Although major parts of the plateau have been dug through so that the layers have been severely damaged, it is evident that a considerable part of the hill was settled in the course of the tenth century. It has been maintained that there were never any graves on the Kyselivka (Tolocko 1970, p. 65). In view of the state of preservation of archaeological remains on the hill, this is a questionable position. Due to topography, however, it is likely that during more intensive settlement on the plateau, cemeteries had to be established away from the hill. Archaeological evidence from the Kyselivka indicates a large settlement area several hectares in extent. In this case, too, the full dynamics of development in the tenth century cannot be gathered from the the archaeological sources. It is not improbable, however, that the structure of the settlement on this hill was similar to that of the neighboring settlement to the north just described.

Archaeological material from the Starokyjivs'ka Hill is more voluminous and differentiated, due to more intensive excavation and to slightly better preservation. The Starokyjivs'ka Hill is a rather flat plateau with steep slopes to the southwest, the northwest, and the northeast. Only towards the southeast are there no natural defenses. The plateau stands about 20m higher than the Kyselivka, from which it is separated by a broad (ca. 150m wide) ravine (cf. Karger 1959, p. 251).

For the Starokyjivs'ka, there are considerable difficulties in sorting out material from the late ninth and the first half of the tenth century. In fact, there are very few indications of settlement there in that early period. Yet the rampart and the moat on the Starokyjivs'ka were certainly functioning fortifications, set off in an area of ca. 2 hectares on the northern side of the hill. In many respects the topography of settlement remains found on the plateau both inside and outside the rampart is remarkable. These are above all remnants of postbuilt, sunken-featured buildings and stone architecture. Although for Kiev a considerable area has been excavated—ca. 15 percent of the area inside the rampart—very few sunken-featured buildings have been found there. Nine houses have been documented in the northwestern and northeastern parts, all close to the steep slope. The central part of the hill was obviously not built in usual rural architecture, namely, postbuilt sunken-featured buildings. The lack of such evidence is telling, since no fewer than twenty sunken-featured buildings dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been excavated in Kiev by Xvojka and others (Kilijevyc 1982, p. 161ff.). Other types of houses with horizontal timberwork built on the surface might well have existed, however. This type of building is typical of Slavic and perhaps also of Baltic and Finnish building traditions in the forest zone; it is alien to the loess area in which Kiev is situated. In fact, there is one documented case of this type of construction on the hill. Partly cut short by the Tithes Church, a quadrangular timber construction of exactly this type was excavated by Mileev (Karger 1959, pp. 172-73); it is probably of mid-tenth century date. Sunken-featured buildings constructed by this technique were excavated by Bohusevyc on the Kyselivka (Bohusevyc 1952). It is possible that some large timber buildings were constructed in the earliest phase, in the late ninth and early tenth century, as well. It is most probable that there were wooden precursors to the later, tenth-century representative stone architecture. We know nothing at all about the construction of these dwellings from the archaeological sources. Were they large halls of the North European type, were they wooden imitations of Byzantine palace buildings, or were they something else?

Some time in the middle of the tenth century, stone architecture makes its first appearance on the hill. This is undoubtedly a consequence of intensive cultural and other contacts with the Greeks in Crimea and in the central parts of the empire. Byzantine court life and the way of life of its elite had become a mental template in Kiev for some time, but it was only now that it influenced building construction. Two buildings probably belong to this earliest phase of stone architecture on the hill. They may date to the middle of the tenth century or even a little earlier. A little to the south of the center, inside the rampart and the moat, remains of an early stone construction have been found (Borovs'kyj 1981, pp. 175-181; Xarlamov 1985, pp. 106–110) (fig. 6). Their fragmentary character makes complete reconstruction infeasible, but some general features can be noted. The building was constructed from materials transported a considerable distance, including heavy granite stones, sandstone, and rosy slate from the Ovruč quarries. Brick fragments further confirm the high standard of the building techniques. The building was richly embellished with frescoes and decorations of marble from Prokonnesos. The floor was covered with polychrome tiles. The excavators probably rightly interpreted the amounts of charcoal from large timber in the upper debris layer as evidence of a collapsed wooden upper floor.

The shape of the building is indicated only by a slightly curved, short segment of the wall. This could suggest a circular layout (Xarlamov 1985, pp. 106–107). The outer diameter of the building was probably about 17m. Yet other reconstructions are possible: what was found may be a curved section of a more complicated building. There are foundations of large buttresses which might have been in harmony with a circular construction. Several are very similar to the sacrificial place found nearby, discussed above. Could the findings at that site actually be architectural fragments?

The other palace building was situated about 13m north of the northern corner of the Tithes Church. It stood only a few meters outside the moat of the late ninth- and tenth-century fortifications and originally just above the steep slope. This building had a distinctly rectangular shape: it was 21m in length and about 10m in width (Xvojka 1913, pp. 66-69; Karger 1961, p. 67; Tolocko 1970, pp. 56-57). The structure was divided into one large and two smaller rooms. The building material was stone and brick, with decorations of marble and slate. Frescoes ornamented the walls, and there is evidence of mosaics. In this case, too, there was probably a wooden upper floor.

These two stone buildings are probably among the earliest in Kiev. However, Xvojka has found seven instances of early stone architecture at various sites on the central part of the hill (Xvojka 1913, pp. 63-74). New

excavations are needed to determine whether these remains actually date to the earliest phase of stone architecture, or whether they are contemporary with the late tenth-century buildings. It is possible that stone buildings were constructed in Byzantine style already towards the middle of the tenth century. Inside the fortification there was also a pagan shrine of some sort, probably with idols and sacrificial fires.

Outside the fortifications extended a wide barrow cemetery (Karger 1959, p. 138ff.; Kilijevyc 1982, pp. 142-52). By the middle of the tenth century it probably contained many hundreds of graves, both inhumations in coffins and chambers and cremations. Some of these graves show distinct Scandinavian features. One chamber grave (no. 114, according to Karger 1959) in every detail resembles contemporary Scandinavian chamber graves (fig. 7). There are also Scandinavian artifacts in some graves. Two finds of Scandinavian oval fibulae have been documented (Karger 1959, p. 218). It should also be noted that quite early people were living outside the rampart in areas not used as burial grounds.

It is now possible to visualize what the Starokyjivs'ka Hill was like in the middle of the tenth century. Behind the ca. 4m deep moat (cf. Karger 1959, p. 99) and the earthen rampart, which may have stood at least 4-5m high and which may have been crowned with complementary wooden fortifications, stood a complex of stone-built buildings, brightly painted, with wooden second floors. In addition, there were some sunken-featured buildings and small timbered, quadrangular houses. There are probably also some remains of a complex of the large timber buildings that generally antedated the stone buildings. The larger buildings stood in the central part of the fortified area and the smaller wooden houses stood along the periphery, especially towards the slopes and even on ledges of the slopes. Outside the fortifications, wide expanses with tumuli could be seen. There were, however, also plots with small wooden buildings here and there, and on the edge of the slope close to the rampart stood a fine stone-built palace surrounded by minor wooden buildings (perhaps with a pallisade of its own).

Let us now look at the other parts of Kiev at that time. During the ninth and especially the tenth century, the riverbank, which had always been of moderate breadth and very wet, was rapidly rising and becoming more and more suitable for settlement. The formation of the territory of the low river bank, the Podil, was the result of a number of deluvial and alluvial processes. The sedimentation of enormous quantities of sand by the Dnieper was the most important factor, but erosion from the hills also played a role. The latter process was rapidly becoming more and more notable in the destruction of the natural vegetation cover on the hills and

slopes. The gradually rising riverbank was traversed by two brooks emerging from the ravines, the northern one being the Jurkovycja and the southern, the Hlybocycja.

Excavations begun in the early 1970s clearly show us that there was no settlement in the Podil until the late ninth century (cf. Callmer 1981, pp. 38-39; Hupalo 1982, pp. 18-33; Mezentsev 1986). The area was not suitable for settlement earlier, and even then settlement there was precarious for a long time, at least through the tenth century. In contrast to the study of early settlement in other parts of Kiev, the development of the Podil can be dated quite accurately, thanks to a detailed stratigraphy which provides evidence for dendrochronology, numismatic dates, and changing pottery design (Sahajdak 1981, 1982A, 1982B). The earliest timber constructions are dated to A.D. 887 (Hupalo 1982, p. 15). Since dendrochronology is to a certain extent a calculation of statistical probability, the exact date should not be considered absolute, although results are so consistent that adjustments of more than a decade are unlikely.

Already from the early tenth century settlement was organized. Areas suitable for settlement were divided into rather regular plots, which came in two sizes: the smaller ca. 300 square meters and the larger size ca. 600 to 800 square meters (Tolocko 1981D, pp. 85-92). A similar division, but with generally larger plots, also existed in late tenth- and eleventh-century Novgorod. Each plot was claimed for generations, and the whole system proved very conservative and stable. The regularity of the plots, evident from the outset of settlement, may indicate systematic allotments to followers and retainers of land previously held in common or—more probably—originally claimed by the elite.

Constructed on the plots were timberhouses built in horizontal timberwork, in some cases of the regular *pjatystinka*-type, a building technique otherwise known only further north, in the forest region. On each plot a house stood back from the street, with a couple of outbuildings along the street. Due to the very wet conditions, houses were often built on wood foundations. During the tenth century, the Podil was inundated several times by new sediment layers. Reconstructed boundaries closely followed the earlier pattern.

There is little variation in the architecture of the Podil. The wet ground and the high water table made it very difficult to construct stone buildings—in fact, no early ones are known there. The higher ground (the second terrace) at the foot of the hills may have become suitable for such buildings in the course of the tenth century, for later stone churches were erected there. Until recently, graves from the period were little-known in the river bank area. Now excavations have revealed graves dating to the

eleventh and twelfth centuries at three different sites in the Podil (Ivakin and Stepanenko 1985, pp. 83-85). Only one pagan grave has been found (Hupalo and Tolocko 1975, p. 46).

The economic specialization of the district in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was trade and crafts, and it is most likely that this was so from the very beginnings of settlement. One of the plots excavated on the Cervona plosca in 1972 was probably a merchant's residence. Finds of a Byzantine coin, a weight, and some other items are also probably indicative (Hupalo and Tolocko 1975, pp. 41-61), although actual evidence of economic specialization from the earliest period is slight.

The Podil of the late ninth and first half of the tenth century was an extensive area with rather dense settlement along the foothills on the upper of two riverbank terraces. Here and there, where the ground was a little higher, there was also settled land stretching towards the river. Settlements grew constantly. Streets and alleys divided the area into blocks. All plots were fenced. The timber buildings were generally rather small, but they frequently had a second floor. It is most probable that there was a harbor on the banks of the Pocajna.

Traces of settlement, albeit vague, have been reported in three other localities in central Kiev. Cultural layers and pottery have been found on both the Sčekavycja and the Kudrjavec' (Bohusevyč 1952B, pp. 68-69), as well as on the Dytynka (Toločko 1965, p. 16).

If we review the entire settlement complex of Kiev in the late ninth and early tenth century, we now have a vivid picture of very strong and very rapid development. From a population of at most one to two hundred persons before the late ninth century, Kiev had grown enormously. On the hills large areas were rapidly cleared and were dotted with various buildings or set aside as cemeteries. The settlement was divided into several parts, possibly due in part to topography but also due to the social structure of early Kiev. In this early phase, an elite family probably settled in a distinct area of the hills with their retainers, followers, and household. Each area had buildings and adjoining plots for their household, officials, military guard, etc. The preeminant part of Kiev was, however, already from the early tenth century or even earlier, the Starokyjivs'ka Hill. It was probably the seat of the leading elite family. Settlement in the Podil may have had a slightly different character, that is, a population only somewhat similar to that on the hills and only partly integrated into its economic and social system.

By the early tenth century, the population must have grown into the thousands. Even if the rich loess on the hills was ploughed and cattle, sheep, and horses grazed on meadows in the valleys of the Dnieper and the

Pocajna, it is most unlikely that the subsistence economy could have been based on the production of food and commodities in and around Kiev alone. The population of proto-urban Kiev was certainly partly dependent on the influx of products from tributary tribes and groups for subsistence.

It is very likely that craft production developed both in households of the elite and among the population of the Podil. One significant change in this early phase is the rapid development of a professional or semi-professional potters' craft. It was not centralized (Tolocko 1981B, pp. 295-98).

Elements of the population were certainly involved in long-distance trade already at the beginning of the tenth century. Numerous finds of Samanid dirhams indicate that part of this trade was connected with the Muslim East (Tolocko 1976, pp. 3-6; Callmer 1981, p. 46). Trade was evidently also conducted with the Byzantine Empire from an early date (Tolocko 1976, pp. 6-10; Callmer 1981, pp. 46-47). The Samanid dirhams belong mainly to the first half of the tenth century. Trade eastward must have been channeled along the major caravan routes, one of which started in Central Europe, passed through Kiev, and probably reached the Khazar center on the lower Volga (Jacob, 1927, p. 12). A connection with the Bulgar state at the bend of the Volga was also likely, as is indicated by the archaeological material, which, among other things, includes Finno-Ugric artifacts (Karger 1959, pp. 216-17; Tolocko 1970, p. 147; cf. also Rybakov 1969, pp. 194-95, and Kropotkin 1973).

If one judges by the coin finds, the volume of trade between Kiev and Byzantium was less voluminous. This impression may be misleading, however, because the lack of coins could be due to the reluctance of the Byzantines to export their currency. By contrast, Samānid dirhams were probably minted for export (cf. Noonan 1988). Perhaps a better measure of trade with the Byzantines are amfora finds. These, too, were few in the tenth century, suggesting that trade with Byzantium was limited and specialized.

The social structure of Kiev in the early phase has already been mentioned in connection with architecture and settlement layout. The local society was highly complex, including princely families and their followers and retainers with families. These households included not only producers of food and ordinary commodities for daily use, but also craftsmen supplying jewelry, weapons (perhaps armour), and other items. These social aggregates probably did not include the whole population. Among the general population there were also a number of merchants and of people connected with them, and there may also have been some independent craftsmen.

Some idea of the social divisions is provided by graves. There is a distinct group of high-rank burials, often in wooden chambers (e.g., Karger 1959, graves 103ff.). Then there is a number of still well-equipped but less conspicuous graves (e.g., Karger 1959, graves 8, 14, 25, 26, 30, 73, 83, 84, 86). Very simple graves with few or no grave goods are also noted (e.g., Karger 1959, graves 1-7, 9-13). Considered here are only inhumation graves, since cremation graves, fewer in number, have also been less well documented.

The variation in building techniques and grave rites strongly indicates a very complex cultural milieu and a polyethnic society (Mocja 1979). Local East Slavs certainly made up a considerable proportion of the inhabitants. Architecture and some grave rites suggest the presence of a large group of people from the forest zone north of Kiev who were familiar with horizontal timber construction and cremation burials. There were also high-ranking Scandinavians among the population (Callmer 1981, p. 47). The archaeological data does not prove that there were Oriental merchants and artisans in Kiev at this time, but the obvious importance of long-distance trade and later evidence of such craftsmen's visits or permanent residence in Kiev would indicate that they were present already in the early phase. Greek architects, builders, and craftsmen certainly lived in Kiev for some time. Also, Byzantine clergymen and their servants were probably present.

The large Kiev settlement was not an isolated community in the Dnieper valley. There were certainly hamlets and possibly also manors in the surrounding countryside. It is curious that evidence of settlement in nearby territory seems to date mainly from a somewhat later period than the late ninth and early tenth centuries (cf. Movcan 1985). It is uncertain whether these neighboring settlements resulted from the establishment of Kiev or if they were part of an old system of agrarian settlements in the region. Probably both factors were at play.

V. KIEV AT THE SECOND HALF OF THE TENTH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The ongoing development that occurred in the second half of the tenth century established the early medieval center of Kiev as it would exist up to the sack of the capital of Rus' by the Mongols in 1240. It was a period of very rapid expansion. Several aspects of the economic and social structure which earlier could only just be perceived now became distinct. Again we proceed with a survey of the various parts of Kiev (fig. 8).

In the northern part of Lysa Hill, settlement continued in the second half of the tenth century. Graves and other indicators of settlement can be dated to this period (Tolocko 1970, p. 147; Maksymov and Orlov 1982). It

seems, however, that in the eleventh century this settlement did not exist on the same scale as before; in fact, to some extent the area was abandoned at the end of the tenth century (Tolocko 1983, pp. 48-50; 1985, p. 10). As yet, we do not know if this was a gradual process or a sudden reduction. In either case, the entire character of an early urban complex having a number of distinct and equal centers is lost. To judge from the number of graves, the population of this part of Kiev had been considerable. Settlement in the northern part of the Kiev Hills did continue until the Mongol invasion, but it seems to have been only farms and suburban hamlets on the hills rather than part of the urban complex. By the end of the tenth century, this district had definitely become secondary to the administrative and economic center on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill.

Settlement on the Kyselivka continued to be dense. Remarkable are the indications of craft production on the hill, dating from the late tenth or eleventh century. Two major collections of bone and antler artifacts and their waste products were found in excavations during the 1910s and 1920s (Karger 1959, p. 47); subsequent excavations have completed the picture (Sovkopljas 1954). Among the items found were combs with tenth-century features (ibid., plate II:10, 12). Some of the items may date from the early eleventh century, as already pointed out, which would indicate a certain continuity in production. In the northwestern part of the hill, excavations in the 1930s uncovered traces of bronze casting, probably from a jeweler's workshop, which can also be dated to the late tenth and eleventh centuries (Kilijevyc and Orlov 1985). Various molds for bronze casting, including the production of buttons, have been found on the Kyselivka (Tolocko 1970, p. 145; Kilijevyc and Orlov 1985, p. 66). It is most uncertain if this evidence of craft production indicates the existence of a specialized craft-producing district, or whether the production was directly connected with a princely residence or a prominent family's household. The continued development of the princely center on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill in the late tenth and eleventh century, and the lack of evidence for a similar development on the Kyselivka, indicates that the latter declined in political importance.

In the late tenth and early eleventh centuries the settlement on the Starokyjivs'ka clearly emerged as the political center of Kiev. Monumental stone architecture became more impressive, and the number of buildings increased markedly. During the last decades of paganism, a new or additional pagan shrine was constructed outside the old fortifications. This place of worship was situated in a free zone between the barrow cemeteries. Archaeological excavations have uncovered the foundations of this shrine and of an ashpit similar to the one near the *kapyšče* (cf. above, Tolocko and

Borovs'kyj 1979). The most important development was the spread of settlement outside the primary fortification line and the subsequent leveling of these defenses and the tumulus grave fields. New defenses replaced the old ones, now encircling an area of ca. 10 hectares (Kilievyc 1982, pp. 51–57). In the previous phase, the central part of the plateau, within the old defenses, was already dotted with monumental stone architecture. In the second half of the tenth century, monumental buildings in brick and stone become a more dominant element, and in general buildings tended to be larger. With the beginning of work on the Tithes Church in AD. 989 or 991 (cf. Komeč 1987, p. 168), Christian Byzantine church architecture also became a notable feature on the urban landscape of Kiev. What earlier churches stood in Kiev is most uncertain. Historical sources indicate the prior existence of at least one or two churches, but they have not been located archaeologically (Tolocko 1970, p. 133). It is most unlikely that they were in any sense prominent. The Tithes Church was built in a tradition which clearly indicates that the masters in charge of construction were Greeks (Karger 1961, p. 10). This large structure (ca. 43 x 35m) was erected only 4.5m beyond the old fortifications of a pagan tumulus cemetery. The whole area was carefully leveled, and numerous kilns, ovens, and stone masonries operated near the church site for about a decade (Kilijevyc 1982, pp. 70-77). The church was first consecrated in 996. The interior was richly decorated with floors of tile and mosaics and with details of slate and marble (Karger 1961, pp. 56-59).

Only about 17m to the southeast of the Tithes Church, the foundations of a large, secular stone building were excavated by Mileev and Vel'min in 1911–1914 (Karger 1961, pp. 67-72). The structure measured more than 30m in length and was about 8m wide. The foundation was built in a technique corresponding closely to that used for the Tithes Church (ibid., p. 71). The building must have been a large palace constructed at about the same time as the church. It was obviously one of the major structures in the new princely compound outside the old fortifications. Another large rectangular building measuring more than 35m in length and ca. 8.75m in width stood about 60m southwest of the church (ibid., pp. 73-76; Xarlamov 1985, pp. 110–12). There the interior was obviously divided into a number of rooms. Also, this building was erected on a substructure of concrete, on a wooden carcass. Traces of its stone foundations and brick walls are almost totally absent. Evidently this was another large secular building erected in the late tenth century in connection with the replanning of the central area on the Starokyjivs'ka, probably in connection with the building of the Tithes Church. This second building was orientated almost exactly as was the church, a feature shared with no other known building on the hill. Both the

palace buildings probably had second floors of wood.

Let us visualize, then, what the central area on the Starokyjivs'ka looked like in the late tenth century. There was a central area, with the Tithes Church in the center and two large palatial buildings facing it at some distance to the southeast and the southwest (figs. 9 and 10). To the northeast, on the edge of the hill, there still stood an earlier, perhaps somewhat smaller stone and brick palace. It is unclear whether to the northwest of the church there was another palace building or whether the old (circular?) palace had been destroyed. The whole central area was an extremely impressive assembly of monumental architecture, at that time having no parallel in Eastern Europe north of Xersones (Jakobson 1959). Around this site, which must have witnessed the most important political and religious rites of Kiev society, there were less conspicuous buildings, which could have been made of timber. As we know from Novgorod (Borisevic 1982), such structures could have had several stories. Of this hypothetical timber architecture there is archaeological evidence. There is evidence of sunken-featured buildings along the periphery around the monumental center (Kilijevyč 1982, fig. 94). In several cases we have evidence of close connection with craft production. Recent excavations in the southwestern part of the plateau prove the existence of bronze casting, including mold fragments for a special sort of earring, finger-rings, and buttons (Kilijevyc and Orlov 1985, p. 61ff.). The excavation trench is situated at the very edge of the hill, only about 22m to the southwest of the early, presumedly circular palace. There is also evidence of artifacts of antler and bone. These specialized kinds of crafts may have been closely connected with the princely household. Such items as jewelry, toilet accessories, clothing, weapons, and tools probably played an important role in the economy and in the political connections between the elite and their entourage. Control of this kind of production was an obvious goal for any prince seeking power.

We know that settlements on the Starokyjivs'ka became more widespread, but we are uncertain about their plot system and the economic and social character. Sunken-featured buildings of rather indistinct character were the primary indicators of settlement. It has been argued that the discovered building fragments are actually parts of much larger buildings (Tolocko 1981D, pp. 46-48), but there is little concrete evidence for such speculation. Many of the sunken-featured buildings (with ovens) were small dwellings in the local tradition of the forest-steppe zone.

The center on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill may have been surrounded by compounds of the prince's followers. The archaeological data are, however, too meager to shed light on this possibility.

The new fortifications on the Starokyjivs'ka were impressive. The rampart may have stood more than 6m high and the moat was probably quite deep, especially since it partially followed natural ravines (Kilijevyc 1982, pp. 51-57). There was at least one gate with a stone gatehouse, presumably crowned by a low tower (Samojlovs'kyj 1965).

As we know, a distinct feature of settlement in the late tenth century was its rapid development in the southern part of Kiev. A parallel phenomenon was the development of settlement in the Kopyriv Kinec' (Tolocko 1981 A, pp. 24-26) and in areas between this district and the Starokyjivs'ka Hill (Borovs'kyj and Sahajdak 1985). Settlement in the Kopyriv Kinec', begun already in the late tenth century, rapidly extended over several hectares. A grave found at the intersection of Rejtars'ka and Ckalova Streets (Karger 1959, pp. 169-72) may indicate even earlier settlement in the neighborhood (early tenth and mid-tenth century). The character of settlement in the Kopyriv Kinec' and adjoining areas was of plots with sunken-featured buildings or square, timbered houses. At an early stage, fortifications were a rampart and a dry moat (Tolocko 1981 A, pp. 25-26).

Already in the early tenth century, settlement in the Podil had extended considerably. In the second half of the tenth century, settlement continued to grow up the riverbank, following additional alluvial and deluvial deposits. In fact, the settled area of the Podil may have doubled in the tenth century. Only during the eleventh century, however, did extensive areas become secure from recurrent inundations by the Dnieper. As far as we know, plot boundaries remained unchanged or changed only little (fig. 11). The economic and social character of the settlement in the Podil became more distinct. Also, there is now unambiguous evidence of craft production. An important find was that of four slate molds for belt mounts along the Podil's northern periphery (Hupalo and Ivakin 1977). The molds, recovered inside the remains of a burnt-down dwelling, are made of Ovruc slate, which must have been transported to Kiev over land or more probably by boat via the Horyn', Pryp"jat', and Dnieper Rivers. An Arabic inscription on one of the molds is evidence that the owner or the artisan who made the mold came from the East. This was the time when Khazar towns were in rapid decline. The concurrent rise of political and economic life in Kiev suggests that merchant and artisan emigrants from Khazar towns may have moved to the flourishing new center.

Iron production and perhaps especially iron working were of importance in the Podil. Excavations by Bohusevyc in 1950 of cultural layers going back to the eleventh or perhaps even the late tenth century gave much evidence of ironworking (Bohusevyc 1954). Considering the topography, it is likely that iron working was also located along the peripheries of the Kiev

settlement. The identification of a smithy close to the edge of the Starokyjivs'ka (Kilijevyc 1982, p. 160) suggests that these border zones were actually along each distinct district of Kiev. Smithying may have played various roles in different districts, and probably both general household smithying and specialized smithying existed.

In the second half of the tenth century and in the early eleventh century, there probably existed a number of settlements to the north and to the south of Kiev along the heights above the Dnieper. Berestovo (*Pečers'ka fortecja)* and Uhors'ke (*Askol'dova mohyla*) seem to have been inhabited already during the tenth century (Tolocko 1970, pp. 72-73). To the west of Kiev, a number of settlements also existed along the Lybid' and Syrec' Rivers, the natural boundaries of the Kiev plateau in this direction. On the right bank of the Lybid' traces of settlement dating back to the tenth and eleventh century have been excavated opposite the Karavajevi daci railway station (Movcan 1985, pp. 121-22). There was probably a somewhat earlier settlement nearby, connected in some way with the cemetery on Batyjeva Hill (Golubeva 1949, p. 106).

At the western end of Luk"janivs'ka Hill, a fortified settlement on a small promontory overlooking the Syrec' River has been partly excavated (Movcan 1985, pp. 122-24). Findings indicate that the settlement began in the tenth century. Settlements probably also existed on the east bank of the Dnieper, for instance, at Darnycja (Callmer 1981, p. 40).

Kiev in the second half of the tenth century was still in a process of rapid growth. In the last decades of the tenth century, too, the secular and religious center on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill became the most imposing area of Kiev, with an appearance resembling that of South European towns and cities with a long urban tradition. Although it could be claimed that Kiev would have taken on such a character even if it had remained pagan, the introduction of Christianity in A.D. 988 was surely the most important transformation in the development of Kiev as the center of Kievan Rus'. With the beginning of the construction of the Tithes Church soon after, central Kiev gained the character of a European, early medieval capital, albeit still a barbarian one.

The second half of the tenth century is also the period when Kiev definitely loses its polycentric character. Gone is the structure of the early stage, when a number of distinct areas of settlement were strung along the Kiev Hills for some four kilometers. This does not mean that some districts were abandoned altogether, but the center of gravity did move south. Both demographically and functionally, the center of Kiev becomes the Starokyjivs'ka Hill and the Podil below. Settlement now developed most

vigorously in the Podil and to the south and west of the nucleus on the Starokyjivs'ka.

As already noted, there is an increasing data base of archaeological findings for study of the Podil. The regular and clearly planned nature of settlement there is probably also characteristic of other parts of the city with less well-preserved remains. The regularity of the plots and the layout of the buildings strongly indicates that the land was originally owned by one or two families.

The social and ethnic structure of Kiev's population becomes less distinct during this period. This may be due partly to a process of strong and continuous cultural integration. After all, by now some of the population had lived in Kiev for two generations or more. The rapidly diminishing number of pagan graves makes it difficult to trace different ethnic groups. The social structure is now best studied through architecture and the layout of buildings and plots.

VI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY KIEV

The rapid growth of Kiev from the late ninth century to the early eleventh century occurred not only in size, but also in social, economic, and political life. From a couple of small agrarian settlements in the ninth century, Kiev grew into an extensive settlement already in the first half of the tenth century. Probably the growth in settled territory during this period was from ca. 2-3 hectares to more than thirty hectares, that is, by a factor of more than ten. Growth continued to be strong to the end of the eleventh century. From the middle to the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century, Kiev's settled territory expanded to ca. 48-50 hectares.

The structure of the early center of Kiev also changed considerably. The agrarian settlements that existed in the Kiev area before the late ninth century probably did not differ from other rural settlements in the region. It is uncertain whether these settlements were fortified or not.

From the late ninth century a complex social structure came into being, producing a social stratification notable both in graves and in the architecture and layout of the town. The archaeological evidence seems to suggest the existence of at least five social groups. Of course, princes together with their families were the ruling group. In the early phase, more than one princely residence seems to have stood in the topographically distinct parts of the settlement. A second stratum of the princes' high-ranking followers, retainers, and mercenaries is discernible in the grave material. Merchants and artisans formed foreign colonies, but some were part of the princely households. A stratum of low-ranking followers and household people

formed a large part of the population. Last, there were probably servants or slaves in considerable numbers.

This social stratification was made more complex by the highly varied ethnic and cultural composition of the population (Mocja 1979). A majority of residents were undoubtedly people of the local Slavic forest and forest-steppe. Easterners, that is, people from the Khazar towns and those involved in the long-distance trade that went through Kiev, certainly formed another distinct cultural group, probably one ethnically and confessionally diverse. At times and also in some numbers, especially towards the end of our period, Greeks were permanent residents of Kiev. Scandinavians were another ethnic group belonging in part to a higher social stratum.

With the formation of Kiev in the late ninth and tenth centuries, there began a process of cultural integration which may have had an impact on the ethnic character of some groups of the population. Certain ethnically associated habits, like details of dress (ornaments), became less and less prominent.

The formation of Kiev was also an important economic event marking the emergence of a new economic system in the Middle Dnieper region. From the outset Kiev depended to some extent on tribute from surrounding areas as well as more distant lands. Goods collected and brought to Kiev not only contributed to the well-being of the population, but also attracted the attention of traders. The concentration of people and the importance of gift-giving and rewards also contributed to the appearance of producers-artisans.

There are no close parallels to Kiev in construction and layout during the earliest phase. There were, however, some complexes not very different from early Kiev. A number of Khazar centers (in the political sense and not to be confused with authentic Khazarian cities such as Itil and Sarkel) in the Don-Donec' basin had similar characteristics. The center at Verxnij Saltiv is one example (Berezovec' 1962). In addition to a fortified nucleus of ca. 3.75 hectares, there was an extensive settlement inside a second, earthen rampart on the high, west bank above the Donec' River. The valley floor was too wet to allow settlement there, but an extensive open settlement stood on the east bank. The total extent of the settlement has been estimated at ca. 120 hectares. Although there are some problems with chronology (cf. Icenskaja 1982), it may well be that the settlement at Verxnij Saltiv grew very rapidly to its maximum size in no more than one or two generations. There were no precursors to that settlement. Another very large settlement complex existed concurrently at Vovcans'k (Pletneva 1967, pp. 34-35). There, it has been suggested, the central fortification was the site of cult worship. Smaller, but similar to the Verxnij Saltiv

settlement, was the site of Majaky at the confluence of the Tyxaja Sosna and the Don (Pletneva 1984). It had a small, fortified nucleus with a surrounding open settlement ca. 20 hectares in extent. The explosive growth of these settlements and their dependence on goods from tributary tribes both as food for the population and as goods are characteristics held in common with Kiev. Part of the population of the Khazar centers may have lived a semi-nomadic life, but this possibility does not call into question their general character. They probably had only one fortified nucleus, whereas, as we have seen, Kiev from the outset had more than one.

A few West Slavic settlements developed similarly; notable are Cracow and Prague. Both towns had at least one fortified nucleus and adjoining large settlements. These centers do not seem to have developed earlier than the tenth century. Prague, in particular, paralleled the complexity of the Kiev settlement (Borkovs'kyj 1961). Both Hradcany and Vysehrad were fortified places connected by unfortified, open settlements. The dating of the open settlements in Prague is still not precise enough to allow a detailed picture of the growth of these districts. There is good reason to suppose, however, that an open, commercially oriented settlement existed already in the tenth century. In Cracow conditions were similar, but there was only one fortified settlement, Wawel (Radwański, 1975). Below the Wawel hill there was an extensive area of open settlement extending to the north called the Okół. During the tenth century the Okół expanded, reaching an extent of ca. 14–15 hectares. Although growth in both Prague and Cracow was very strong and rapid, the impetus was not as strong as in Kiev, and there are indications that the general development of the two West Slavic centers was more gradual.

Byzantine towns were certainly the model for the development of Kiev in the latter part of the tenth century, and perhaps even earlier. There was, however, only a vague likeness between the Byzantine towns and Kiev (cf. Kirsten 1958). Any likeness to the Bulgarian cities of Preslav and Pliska was also only very general (Stancev 1960).

The development of Kiev was a special variant of urban development in Eastern Europe, the first, tentative examples of which were the Khazar centers. The background to this development was complex. It comprised economic factors, which made possible an excessive production of foodstuffs and of goods in demand in long-distance trade during the period when Kiev was connected with the Byzantine Empire and the Muslim Caliphate. Ideas about the administration of vast territories and the collection of goods from the subjugated territories became widespread in barbarian Europe. These preconditions made it possible for ruling groups with a new mentality, who perhaps scarcely understood the two leading state systems

of the period but nonetheless accepted them as models, to develop new states and urban centers.

Kiev's growth was not merely as a conglomerate of villages. Urbanization brought about a totally new situation. In research concerning the development of early towns in Kievan Rus', two theoretical models have been proposed. The first model can be called the Novgorod or *koncy* model (Janin and Aleskovskij 1971; Kolcin and Janin 1982, pp. 104-114). Advocates of this model maintain that the early centers of Kievan Rus' developed as a result of a synoecism of a number of earlier settlements. The second model is the bipartite one (Tolocko 1985, p. 5). Advocates of this model maintain that the fortified center (*dytynec'*) with an adjoining open settlement (*posad*) is the original, basic structure of all urban centers in Kievan Rus'.

It is difficult to maintain that the early northern towns of Rus' developed as a result of a synoecism between a number of closely situated settlements. As Tolocko has rightly put it, at that time in Eastern Europe the town was a completely new social phenomenon (ibid., p. 12). In the case of Novgorod, there is a growing amount of evidence of an earlier center at Gorodisce, to the south of Novgorod (cf. Karger 1947, pp. 145-48; Nosov 1985, pp. 63-64), and there are as yet no indications of early settlements that could later have formed Novgorod. The dichotomy proposed in the second model is not applicable to the earliest proto-urban and urban centers of Northern Rus', like Pskov, Ladoga, and Gorodisce (the precursor of Novgorod). Also, the second model is hardly ideal for explaining the early development of Kiev. The later phase, or what we tentatively date as the late tenth century, certainly brought an urban structure to Kiev, which conforms to the bipartite model. The earliest phase, however, does not fit the theory well. Even if it is assumed that the urban topography was strongly influenced by the landscape, there was a marked difference between the layout of settlement in the early versus the late phase. Kiev in the late ninth and early tenth century cannot be analyzed simply within the framework of the *dytynec'-posad* dichotomy. The earliest phase in Kiev was characterized much more by a concentration of political power in groups of people than by a single center. It then rapidly attracted economically specialized individuals.

The development of Kiev is the change from an originally complex and fragmented settlement area to an enormous—for its time—urban center with a clearly bipartite structure. Late tenth- and eleventh-century Kiev strongly influenced the layout of many towns in Kievan Rus' that began to develop in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At that time it became the model city for Kievan Rus'—it was in this sense that Kiev was the true mother of the towns of Rus'.

Lund University

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Fig. I

Oro-hydrographic map of the Kiev area.
There are 20 meters between the equidistances.
The Starokyjivs'ka Hill is just northeast of center.

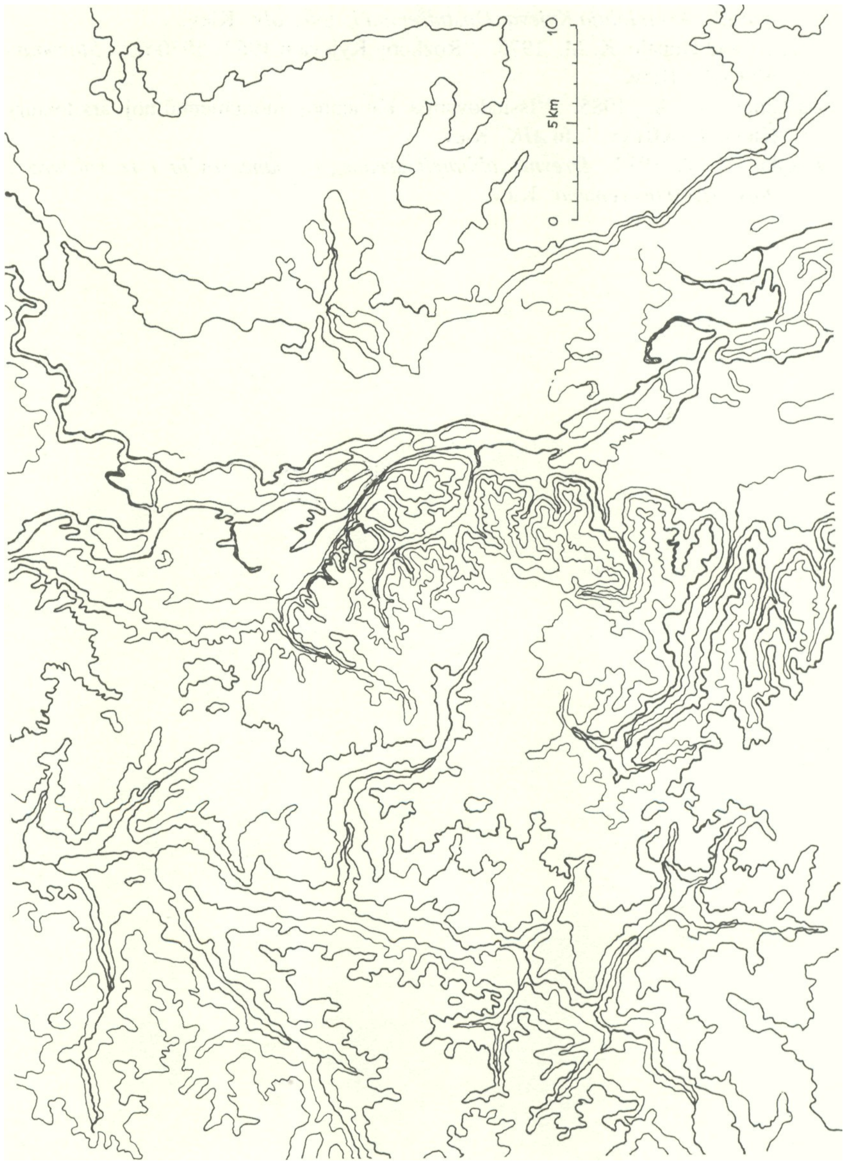


Fig. 2

Topography of Kiev.

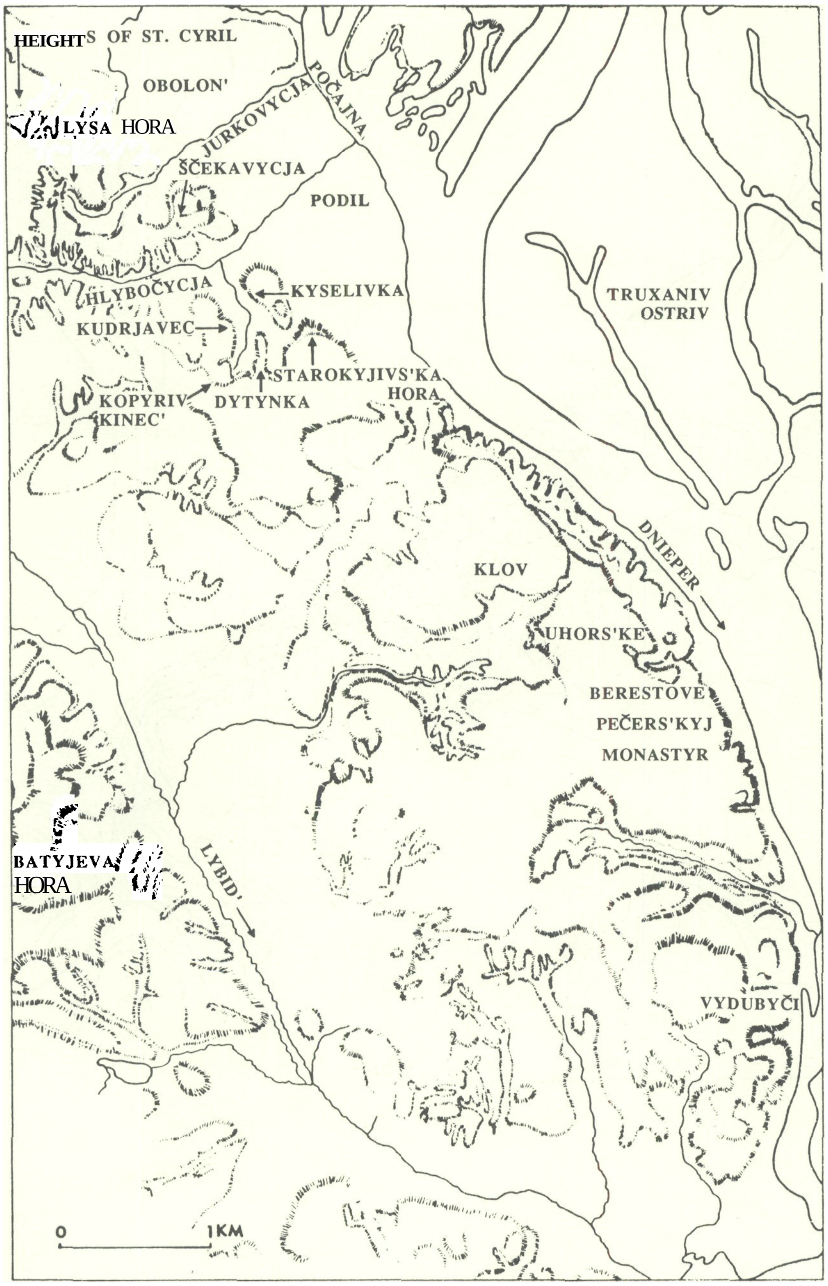


Fig. 3

Early medieval settlement in Kiev
(sixth-seventh centuries to the mid-ninth century).

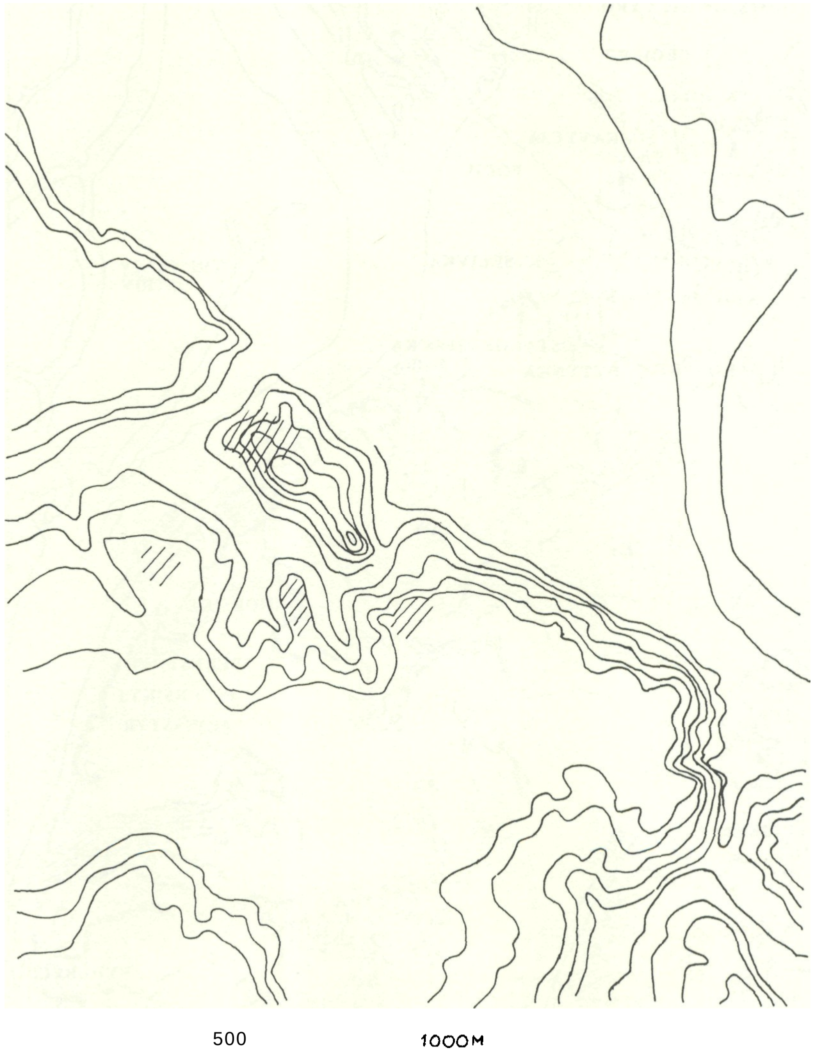


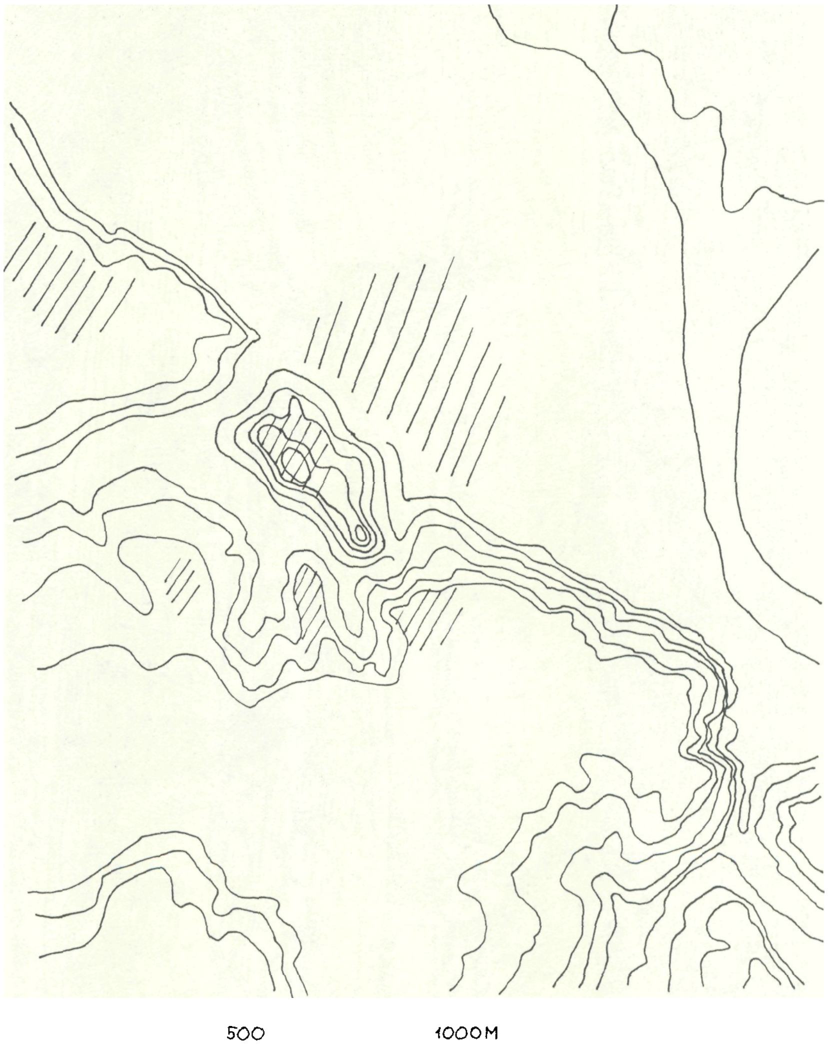
Fig. 4

The *kapysce* according to Xvojka.



Fig. 5

The settlement of Kiev in the early tenth century.



Fig, 6

An early palace building in Kiev
(according to Xarlamov 1985).

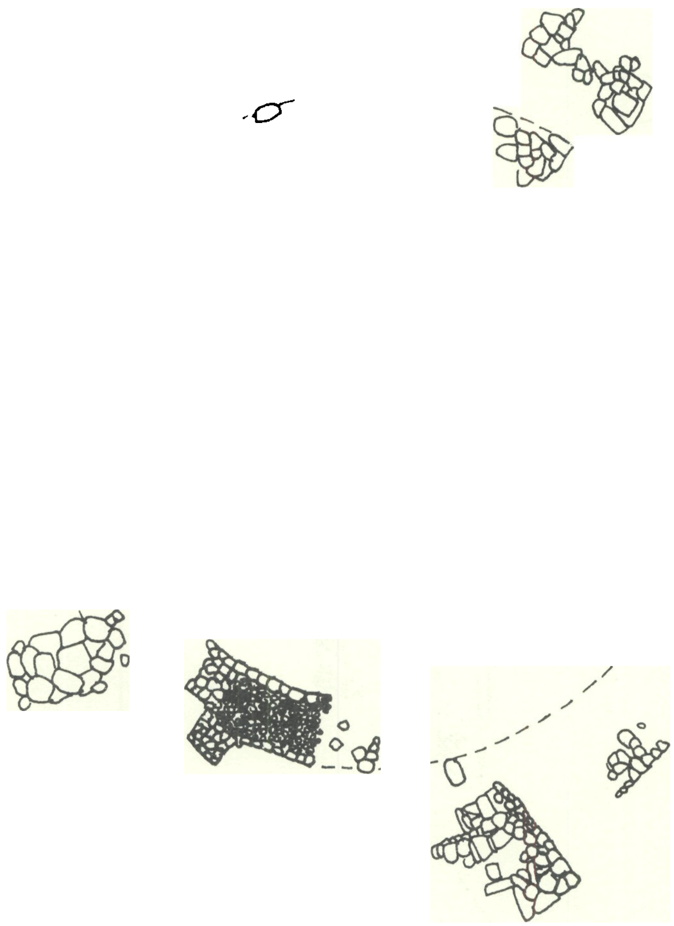


Fig. 7

Chamber grave excavated in the cemetery
on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill.

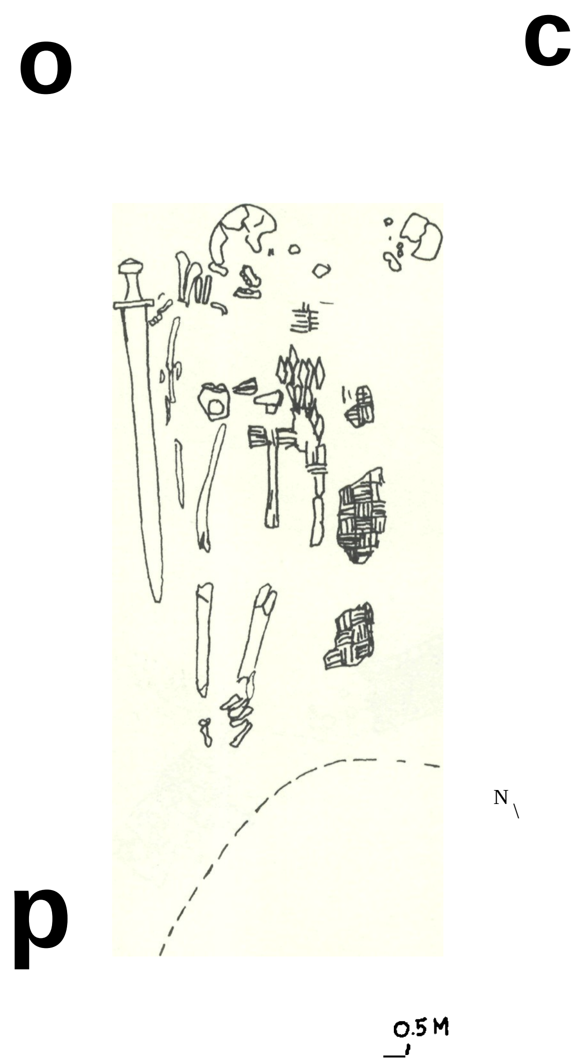


Fig. 8

The settlement of Kiev
in the late tenth and early eleventh century.

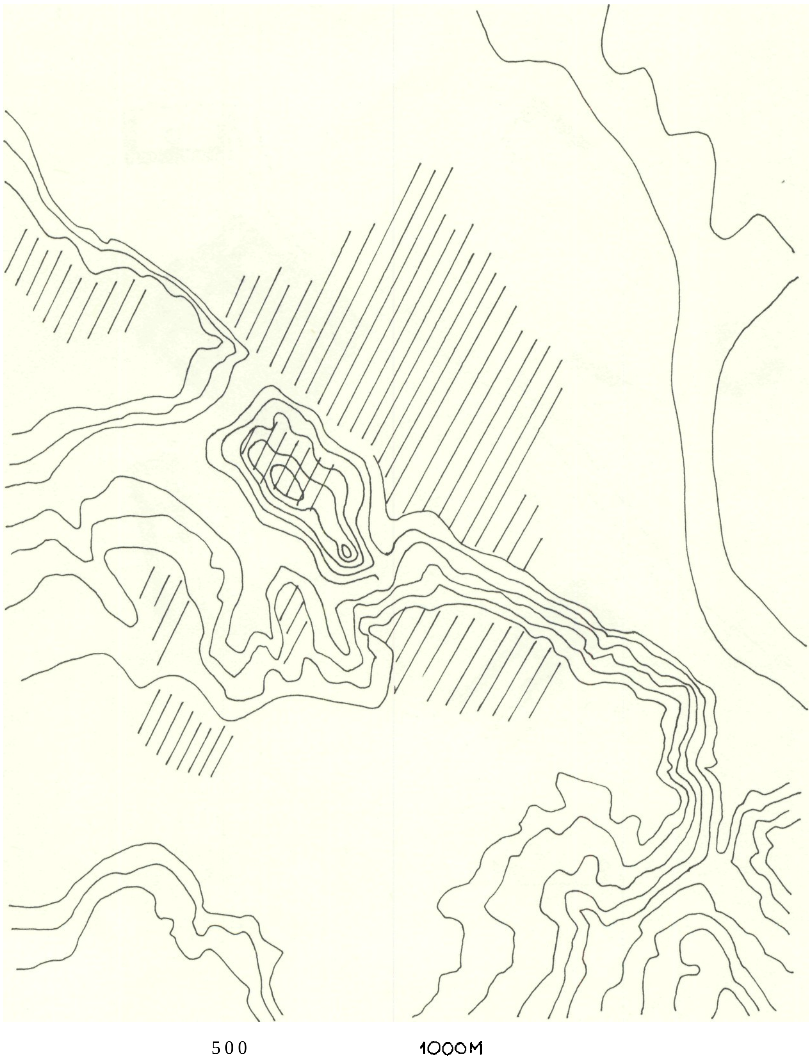
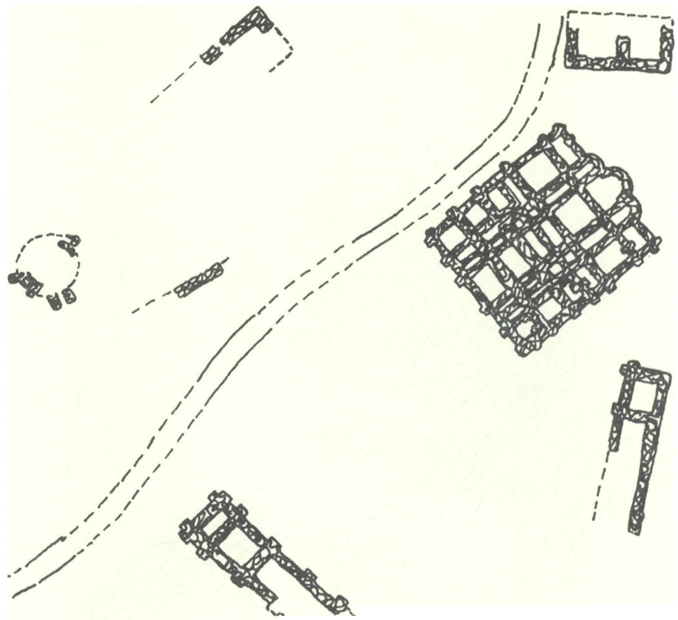


Fig. 9

The central part of the settlement
on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill in the late tenth century.



15 M

Fig. 10

A suggested reconstruction of the center of Kiev
in the late tenth century after the completion of the Tithes Church.

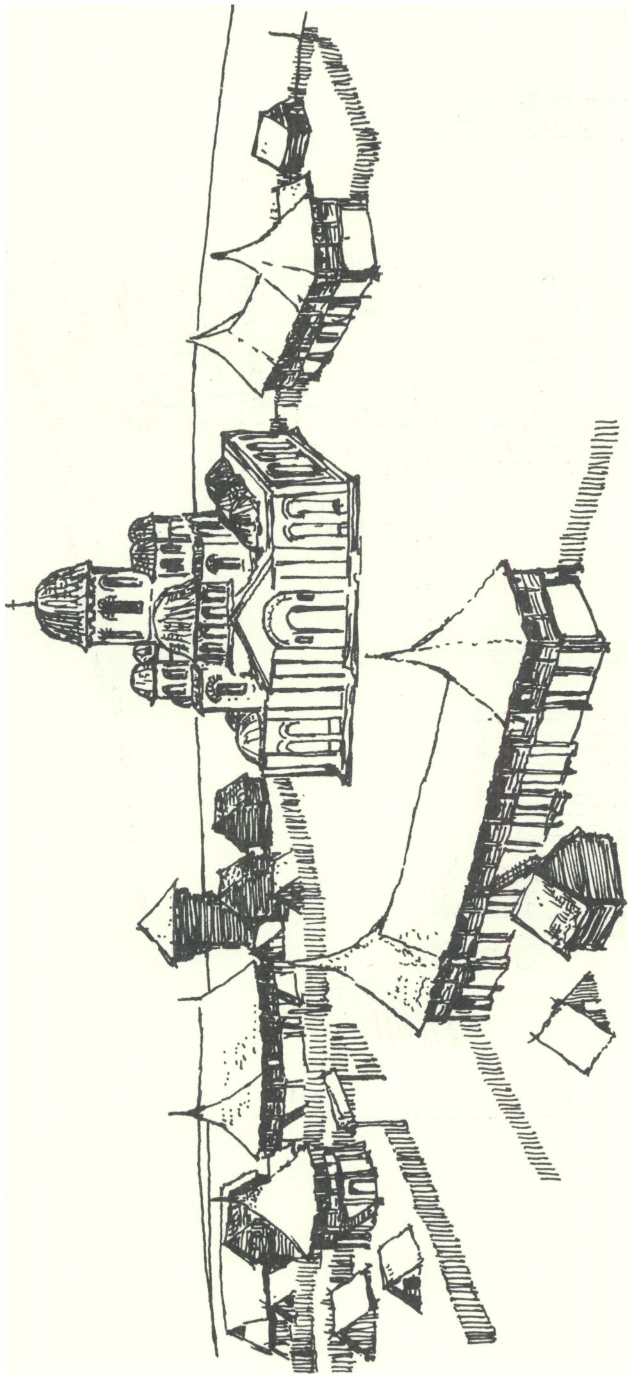
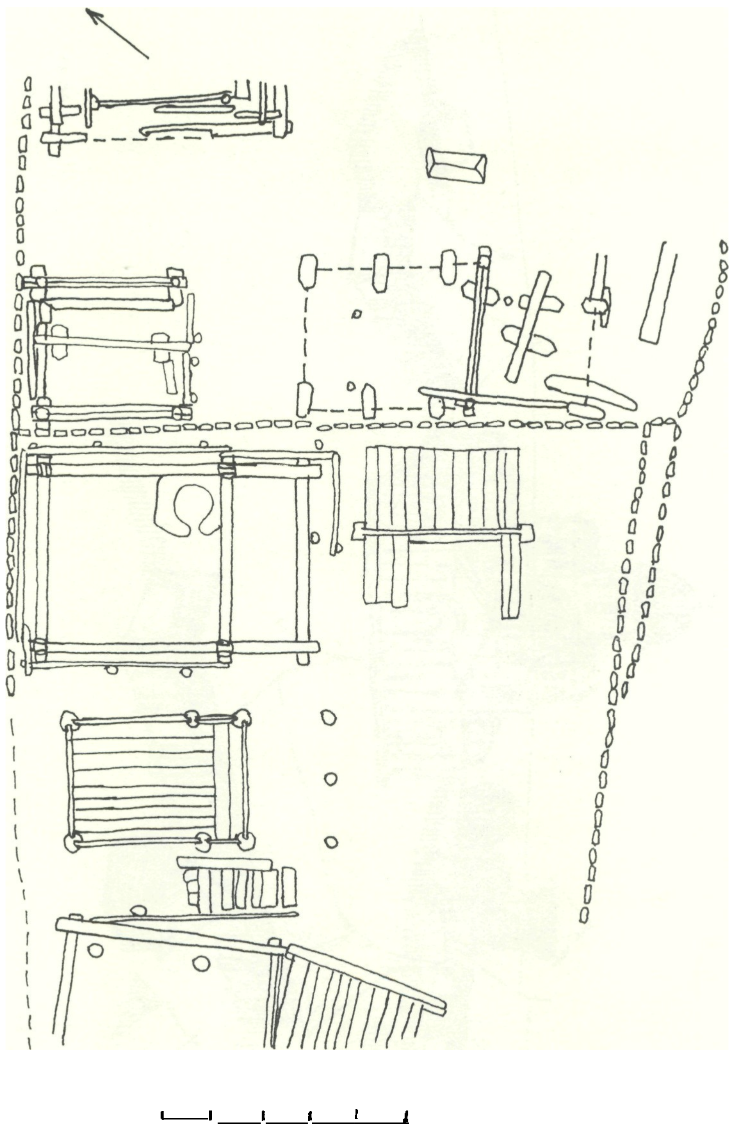


Fig. 11

Excavated sections of two tenth-century plots in the Podil.



The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv*

VOLODYMYR I. MEZENTSEV

In the two centuries after Rus' accepted Christianity, a series of outstanding churches was erected in Chernihiv. Several of them are comparatively well preserved or have been reconstructed in their original aspect. These buildings have been the subject of a great deal of research by architectural and church historians, archaeologists, and art historians. Here I would like to survey briefly the results now available of these investigations into Chernihiv's pre-Mongol masonry churches.

In the pre-Mongol period Chernihiv was one of the oldest and most significant towns of Rus', long a rival to Kiev.[1] The land of Chernihiv, along with the regions of Kiev and Pereiaslav, constituted the political and cultural nucleus of the Kievan state. In these lands of the Middle Dnieper, which had developed earlier than the other parts of Rus', Christianity spread especially swiftly.

When Volodimer the Great baptized Rus' in 988, Chernihiv did not have its own princely throne. The local Severian princely dynasty had evidently ceased to exist in the 960s under Sviatoslav. During Volodimer's reign in Kiev (980-1015), Chernihiv, along with the entire Middle Dnieper region, was the private domain of the Kievan prince and was probably ruled by his lieutenant (*posadnik*).

The chronicle records that in 988, Volodimer, having baptized the population of Kiev and destroyed the town's pagan sanctuaries, "ordained that churches should be built and established where pagan idols had previously

* The first version of this paper was presented at the conference "The Culture of Kievan Rus'," held at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, on 1-2 June 1987. I am deeply grateful to Professor Omeljan Pritsak, who encouraged me in this work and discussed the original version with me. I also thank Professor Thomas S. Noonan, Professor Andrzej Poppe, Professor Frank E. Sysyn, and Dr. Paul Hollingsworth for their valuable suggestions.

1 Boris A. Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR* (hereafter *MIA*) (Moscow and Leningrad), 1949, no. 11, pp. 7-10; Volodymyr I. Mezentsev, "Do pytannia pro henezys davn'oho Chernihova," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Kiev), 1980, no. 1, pp. 107–112; idem, *Drevnii Chernigov: Genezis i istoricheskaia topografiia goroda*, Abstract of Candidate (Ph.D.) Dissertation (Kiev, 1981), pp. 13-23.

stood."[2] In that same year, in Kiev, the prince built a wooden church dedicated to St. Basil, his Christian patron, on the spot of the sanctuary of the pagan god Perun. Then, according to the chronicle, throughout all Rus' Volodimer "began to found churches and to assign priests throughout the cities, and to invite the people to accept baptism in all the cities and towns."[3] Thus, after the conversion of Novgorod the Great, the large, wooden, thirteen-dome St. Sophia Cathedral was built on the spot of the destroyed main pagan sanctuary. After this cathedral was destroyed by fire, a St. Sophia built of stone was constructed in 1045-1050 on or near the same site, the church that stands to this day. The churches in Novgorod dedicated to St. Basil, St. Elijah, and the Nativity of the Mother of God were also erected on the sites of the ravaged sanctuaries of the pagan gods Perun and Veles.[4]

The chronicles do not mention the baptism of Chernihiv's population or its first churches. But there is no doubt that this important town close to Kiev was one of the first Rus' towns to be converted. The first churches in Chernihiv, as in Kiev and Novgorod, were wooden and have not survived. One verisimilar Chernihiv legend recorded in the nineteenth century relates that during Prince Volodimer's reign and after Chernihiv's inhabitants were baptized, the town's first wooden church was built on the spot of a pagan sanctuary. It subsequently burned down and on its site Volodimer's son, Mstislav, constructed the still-standing Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Savior, the oldest masonry church in Chernihiv.

The continuity in location between pagan sanctuaries and the first wooden churches (and later masonry ones) narrated in the legend is typical for the towns of Rus' in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Moreover, earth works in the eighteenth century next to the Cathedral of the Transfiguration and the nearby Cathedral of SS. Boris and Gleb uncovered two silver pagan idols, which were recast into the "Royal Gates" of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb.[5] It is possible that the site of Chernihiv's pre-Christian pagan sanctuary was taken by these churches in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Archaeological studies of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration and its surrounding eleventh-century palaces have shown that they were erected on the site of tenth-century wooden structures which

2 *The Russian Primary Chronicle,* trans. and ed. Samuel H. Cross (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. 205.
3 *Russian Primary Chronicle,* p. 205.
4 V. L. Ianin and M. Kh. Aleshkovskii, "Proiskhozhdenie Novgoroda," *Istoriia SSSR* (Moscow), 1971, no. 2, p. 38.
5 M. E. Markov, *O dostoprimechatel'nostiakh Chernigova* (Moscow, 1847), pp. 3, 18.

had been destroyed by fire.[6] These findings are probably the remains of burned wooden churches, the first churches in Chernihiv, which stood on the spot before the construction of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, just as the wooden St. Sophia in Novgorod preceded its masonry namesake.

In 1024 Volodimer's son Mstislav, who had hitherto ruled in Tmutorokan', seized Chernihiv and made it the center of a vast principality, independent of Kiev and occupying the Left-Bank (Eastern) Ukraine and the land of Tmutorokan' (the Taman' Peninsula and the Kuban' region). The Kiev prince Iaroslav the Wise was obliged to recognize the loss of Chernihiv after he was defeated by Mstislav's forces near Lystven in the land of Chernihiv.

Mstislav's reign (1024-1036) marked the initial construction in Chernihiv of monumental masonry churches and palaces. In the town's center the prince began building the Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Savior, the largest and richest church in medieval Chernihiv, and the oldest extant monument of church architecture in Rus', for it was founded somewhat earlier than St. Sophia in Kiev. The latter was founded in 1037, according to the *Primary Chronicle*,[7] whereas we know that Mstislav began construction of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration one or two years before his death in 1036.[8] In that year, the chronicle states, "while on a hunting expedition, Mstislav fell sick and died, and was laid in the Church of the Holy Savior [i.e., the Transfiguration of the Savior—V.M.], which he himself had founded. In his time, it was built to a point higher than a man on horseback could reach with his hand."[9]

The chronicle does not mention when or by which prince the construction of the cathedral was completed. Mstislav left no heir, and so after his death Iaroslav restored Kiev's authority over Chernihiv. In fact, architectural and archaeological investigations have shown that there was a break in

6 Mykola Makarenko, "Chernihivs'kyi Spas," *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu WAN* (Kiev), 20 (1928):25; N. V. Kholostenko, "Chernigovskie kamennye kniazheskie terema XI v.," in *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* (Moscow), 1963, no. 15, pp. 5, 9.

7 *Russian Primary Chronicle,* p. 226. There is a long-standing debate between proponents of a 1037 dating of the foundation of St. Sophia in Kiev and opponents who date the beginning of its construction to 1017. The later dating seems to me more firmly grounded in the sources. The problem was scrutinized by Andrzej Poppe in "Graffiti i data sporudzhennia Sofii Kyivs'koi," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal,* 1986, no. 9, pp. 93-97; idem, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," in Andrzej Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982), pp. 15-66.

8 A. Poppe arrives at 6 August 1035 (i.e., the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ) as the precise date of the founding of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Chernihiv. See Poppe, "Building of the Church," pp. 33, 48, 57.

9 *Russian Primary Chronicle,* p. 225.

the cathedral's construction.[10] It probably occurred after Mstislav's death, when his rival Iaroslav held sway over Chernihiv (1036–1054). It is likely that the church was completed by Iaroslav's son, Sviatoslav, who received Chernihiv as his patrimonial principality according to Iaroslav's "Testament" and reigned there from 1054 through 1073. This supposition is supported by the fact that in 1076 Sviatoslav was buried in the Chernihiv Cathedral of the Transfiguration, even though at the time he was prince of Kiev (1073-1076) and consequently could have been buried in Kiev's St. Sophia, like his parents and his younger brother Vsevolod (†1093), or in the Tithe Church, like his older brother Iziaslav (†1078). Thus, although work on the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Chernihiv began before St. Sophia in Kiev, apparently its construction was finished later than that of the St. Sophias in both Kiev and Novgorod (1045-1050).

Given the long duration of the construction of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, during the reigns in Chernihiv of Mstislav Volodimerovich and Sviatoslav Iaroslavich, it is not surprising that some architectural historians see a similarity between its plan and the plans of Kiev's Tithe Church built in 989–996[11] and the Church of the Mother of God built in Tmutorokan' in 1022 by Mstislav,[12] while others perceive a likeness with St. Sophia in Kiev.[13] Some also find analogues between the plan of the Chernihiv cathedral and the plans of the Constantinopolitan churches of Myrelaion (Budrum Cami; 10th century) and Eski-Imaret Cami (11th century).[14] However, for analogues to the Chernihiv cathedral the majority of

[10] Iurii S. Aseev, *Arkhitektura Kyivs'koi Rusi* (Kiev, 1969), p. 49; Pavel A. Rappoport, "Russkaia arkhitektura X–XIII vv.," *Arkheologiia SSSR: Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*, no. E 1-47 (Leningrad, 1982), p. 40.

[11] Samuel H. Cross, *Mediaeval Russian Churches* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 15-16; Hryhorii N. Lohvyn (Grigorii N. Logvin), *Chernigov, Novgorod-Severskii, Glukhov, PutivV* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 32-34; A. I. Komech, "Spaso-Preobrazhenskii sobor v Chernigove," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Zarubezhnye sviazi*, ed. G. V. Popov (Moscow, 1975), pp. 25-26; Hubert Faensen and Vladimir Ivanov, *Early Russian Architecture* (London, 1975), p. 336; William C. Brumfield, *Gold in Azure: One Thousand Years of Russian Architecture* (Boston, 1983), p. 32.

[12] *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1966), p. 164; Iurii S. Aseev, *Dzherela: Mystetstvo Kyivs'koi Rusi* (Kiev, 1980), p. 66.

[13] Pavel A. Rappoport, *Drevnerusskaia arkhitektura* (Moscow, 1970), p. 19.

[14] *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, 1: 166; Aseev, *Arkhitektura*, pp. 50-51. On these Constantinopolitan churches, see: Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), pp. 196-200, 212-18; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les eglises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), pp. 171–82, 139-46; N. I. Brunov, "Arkhitektura Konstantinopolia IX–XII vv.," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* (Moscow and Leningrad), 2 [27] (1949): 169-75, 198-209; Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 261-65; Thomas F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 59-70, 209-219.

specialists point not to the churches of Byzantium, but to the earliest masonry churches of Rus', built from the late tenth through the mid-eleventh century by imported Byzantine artists.

The Cathedral of the Transfiguration belongs to the category of domed cruciform churches that originated in Byzantium and spread across Rus' in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The cathedral has three naves ending in the east with three apses, five domes with hemispheric cupolas, and eight pillars supporting the cupolas and arches. Originally, burial chapels and vestibules were attached to the northern and southern facades. The clearly articulated narthex is adjoined on the north by a tower with a spiral staircase leading to the choirs. On the south the narthex was flanked by a baptistery in the form of a small church with three apses. Such towers and baptisteries flanking a narthex were characteristic of Kievan churches of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, being present, for example, in St. Michael's Cathedral (1070-1088) of the Vydubyts'kyi Monastery, the Cathedral of the Dormition (1073-1078) in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, the Church of the Savior in Berestove (1113–1125), and the "golden-domed" Cathedral (1108) of St. Michael's Monastery.

The masonry techniques used to construct the cathedral walls were typical for southern Rus' buildings of the eleventh century. The decorative method employed is called *opus mixtum*, in which layers of flat bricks (*plinthos*) alternate with courses of stone and are joined together by a lime mortar with a touch of crushed brick. This was not a Byzantine practice proper, but went back to Roman building techniques. Like Kievan churches of the late tenth–eleventh centuries built by Byzantine artists, Chernihiv's Cathedral of the Transfiguration used a system of so-called recessed rows of bricks, in which layers of bricks projecting from the facade alternate with courses of bricks set back in the wall and covered from the outside by mortar. In the tenth and eleventh centuries this particular masonry technique was not common throughout Byzantium, but was practiced only by the Constantinopolitan architectural school.[15] Thus, the brickworking techniques of the contemporary masonry churches of Kiev and Chernihiv indicate that they were built by architects from Constantinople rather than from Byzantium's provinces.[16]

[15] Krautheimer, *Early Christian Architecture,* pp. 258, 265.

[16] Rappoport, *Drevnerusskaia arkhitektura*, pp. 9-10. A detailed analysis of Chernihiv's Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Savior and its relation to Constantinopolitan architecture is presented in A. I. Komech, *Drevnerusskoe zodchestvo kontsa X–nachala XII v.* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 134-68, especially pp. 148 and 160.

The cathedral's façades are articulated by pilasters and adorned with niches and decorative patterns made from brick: a meander frieze, crosses, and zigzags. The meander motif was also widespread in the ornamentation of church facades of eleventh-century Kiev. The interior decoration of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration was exceptionally rich, for it was covered with both frescoes and mosaics of smalt. The two techniques were not customarily used in combination in Byzantium. Unfortunately, all that survives of this scheme is a copy of the fresco depicting St. Tekla, the original of which was lost in World War II. This fresco was executed by a skilled artist in a manner characteristic of the eleventh-century Constantinopolitan school of painting.[17]

Originally the lower arcades rested on four marble columns with carved Ionic capitals of the sort frequently met in Byzantine churches of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Similar marble columns were used in the Church of the Mother of God in Tmutorokan' (1022) and the eighth-century churches of John the Baptist and St. Nicholas in medieval Kerch'. A good deal of marble was also used in the decoration of the Tithe Church in Kiev. Marble and marble production were probably brought to Rus' from the island of Prokonnesos in the Sea of Marmora, where there was an important center of marble extraction and processing that served Byzantium and its neighbors.[18] The cathedral's original marble columns suffered from a fire in the nineteenth century and then they were revetted with bricks and painted in imitation of the marble surface.

The parapets of the cathedral's choirs were decorated with slabs of carved pink slate from Ovruch. The oldest floor of the church uncovered by excavations was paved with slate slabs with carved ornamentation and mosaic inlay. Sarcophagi containing princely burials, still preserved in the church, were also made of slate. The pink-colored slate (also called Volhynian *lupak* or *pyrophyllite*) was obtained near Ovruch in Volhynia and was widely used in southern Rus' architecture for both construction and decoration. The slate architectural details and decorations of the cathedral could have been executed by Rus' artists,[19] who from the tenth century had mastered the extraction and processing of Ovruch slate as well as the fashioning of small artistic pieces made from this stone. However, the

[17] Cross, *Mediaeval Russian Churches,* p. 16; Aseev, *Dzherela,* p. 74.

[18] Aseev, *Dzherela,* pp. 66, 96. However, A. L. Iakobson dated the marble Ionic capitals from Chernihiv's cathedral to the sixth century and suggested that they, as well as the marble columns, were brought to Rus' from the basilicas of Kherson or Constantinople that had been destroyed. See A. L. Iakobson, *Zakonomernosti* v *razvitii srednevekovoi arkhitektury 1X-XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1987), p. 134.

[19] Aseev, *Dzherela,* p. 96.

ornamental compositions of the slate slabs of the parapets in Chernihiv's Cathedral of the Transfiguration, like those in St. Sophia in Kiev,[20] were in all likelihood designed by Byzantine artists, or executed by Rus' artisans who followed Byzantine ornamental patterns. Archaeological investigations near the cathedral have uncovered traces of the final processing of slate and of marble architectural details being done at the site, in the course of the church's construction.[21]

It is possible that besides the imported Byzantine masons, native ones were also involved in construction of the cathedral, and that bricks for it were fashioned in Chernihiv by local Rus' artisans, who by that time already knew how to produce them. For example, bricks from palace buildings constructed next to the cathedral in the years 1030–1060 bear marks in the form of princely tridents and crosses.[22] They were quite likely made by Chernihiv brickworkers who were dependent on the prince and bishop. Excavations in Chernihiv's Podil in 1951 revealed remnants of a brick kiln of clearly local manufacture, which archaeologists date to the second half of the eleventh century. Bricks from this kiln are analogous to bricks of the princely tower (*terem*) built in 1050-1060 next to the Cathedral of the Transfiguration.[23] However, as was the case with all early masonry churches in Rus', the architecture and the fresco and mosaic decoration of Chernihiv's Cathedral of the Transfiguration were the work of Byzantine, probably Constantinopolitan, artists working on orders of the Rus' princes.

The Cathedral of the Transfiguration was the main church of the Chernihiv principality and eparchy. According to written sources, many of Chernihiv's ruling elite were buried there and in the adjoining burial chapels: its founder Mstislav Volodimerovich (†1036); the princes Sviatoslav Iaroslavich (†1076), Glěb Sviatoslavich (†1078), Oleg Sviatoslavich (f 1115), Igor' Ol'govich (†1150), Volodimer Davidovich (tll51), Iaroslav Vsevolodovich (†1198), Igor' Sviatoslavich (the hero of the "Lay of Igor' 's Campaign"); the Kiev metropolitan Constantine (†1159); and the martyrs Prince Mikhail Vsevolodovich and his boyar Fedir, who were killed by the Mongols at the Golden Horde.[24] The cathedral was part of the complex of the oldest princely palace of Chernihiv. The foundations of two masonry

20 V. G. Putsko, "Kievskaia skul'ptura XI veka," *Byzantinoslavica* 43, no. 1 (1982): 54-60.

21 Makarenko, "Chernihivs'kyi Spas," p. 17.

22 Kholostenko, "Chernigovskie kamennye kniazheskie terema XI v.," pp. 6-7, 10–11.

23 V. A. Bohusevych, "Arkheolohichni rozkopky v Chernihovi v 1949 ta 1951 rr.," *Arkheolohichni pam''iat URSR* (Kiev), 5 (1955): 10.

24 *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 2: *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908), cols. 138, 190, 191, 282, 408, 707.

towers of this palace were discovered by archaeologists close by the cathedral, to the northwest.[25]

The baptistery, burial chapels, vestibules, the upper parts of the central dome's drum, and the top of the church's tower have not survived. In the seventeenth to nineteenth century the dome and the tower were rebuilt; on three sides at the exits tambours (porches) were erected; the walls were plastered; and in place of the baptistery a new tower was built. Both towers were crowned with high conic cupolas. It is with these alterations to its original structure that the Cathedral of the Transfiguration has come down

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From the time the Cathedral of the Transfiguration was built until the beginning of the twelfth century, no masonry churches are known to have been erected in Chernihiv. Similarly, in both Novgorod the Great and Polatsk, after the construction of the first masonry churches in the mid-eleventh century, no new ones were built until the beginning of the twelfth century. Apparently, these provincial Rus' towns could not continue to bear the costs of monumental construction and hiring architects from Byzantium. Local schools of architects, artists, and builders of masonry churches had not yet formed in the second half of the eleventh century.

In that half century, the building of masonry churches did continue intensively, but almost exclusively in Kiev. Only in Kiev, at that time, had there formed a local school of architects and artists from among the Rus' and the Byzantine artisans who had settled in the town. Artisans also continued to be brought to Kiev from Byzantium. According to the *Patericon* of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, it was Byzantine artists who built the celebrated Cathedral of the Dormition (1073–1078) for the monastery.[27]

In addition to Kiev, only in Pereiaslav from the 1080s was the construction of masonry churches and secular buildings carried on, apparently coinciding with the existence at that time of a metropolis in Pereiaslav, where the metropolitan Ephraim (Iefrem) encouraged masonry building.

25 V. A. Bohusevych (Bogusevich) and N. V. Kholostenko, "Chernigovskie kamennye dvortsy XI–XII vv.," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii AN USSR* (Kiev), 1 (1952); Kholostenko, "Chernigovskie kamennye kniazheskie *terema* XI v.," pp. 3-17.

26 Iurii S. Aseev, *Spas'kyi sobor u Chernihovi* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 4–11; Hryhorii N. Lohvyn (Grigorii N. Logvin), "Spasskii sobor v Chernigove," *Istoriia SSSR* (Moscow), 1969, no. 6, pp. 193-98.

27 *Kyievo-Pechers'kyi pateryk*, ed. Dmytro Abramovych (Kiev, 1930), p. 5.

Sviatoslav Iaroslavich, who in 1073 moved from Chernihiv to take the Kievan throne, began construction in 1076 of a large and rich church in Vyshhorod dedicated to Boris and Gleb, where he intended to transfer the saints' relics. But Sviatoslav died that same year, and the church was completed by Vsevolod Iaroslavich during his reign in Kiev (1078-1093). The church had scarcely been completed when it collapsed. It was rebuilt, and in 1115 it was solemnly consecrated by Sviatoslav's sons, Prince David of Chernihiv and Prince Oleg of Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, and by Volodimer Monomakh, Vsevolod's son, who had ruled Pereiaslav until 1113, when he became prince of Kiev.[28]

Occupied with the construction of the grandiose Church of Boris and Gleb in Vyshhorod, the princes of Chernihiv built no masonry churches in their own town until 1115. In the last quarter of the eleventh century monumental building activity in Chernihiv was also hindered by the struggle of Vsevolod Iaroslavich and Volodimer Monomakh with Oleg Sviatoslavich for Chernihiv and its domains. After the death of Sviatoslav Iaroslavich in 1076, Chernihiv on several occasions changed hands from one prince to the other. The chronicle records the capture and burning of the outer town in 1078 and the destruction of Chernihiv's suburbs in 1094, in the course of these princely internecine wars.[29] Northern Rus' chronicles mention the burning of the town in 1111.[30] It was during the troubled times of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that the two known towers of the princely court next to the Cathedral of the Transfiguration burned down.[31] The struggle for the Chernihiv throne ceased only in 1097, after the meeting and agreement of the Rus' princes in Liubech', where the rights of Sviatoslav Iaroslavich's heirs to the land of Chernihiv were recognized as inviolable. In 1097, David, the eldest of Sviatoslav's clan, received Chernihiv, while Oleg was allotted Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, and Iaroslav was given Riazan'.

In the late eleventh or early twelfth century, the Cumans cut Trautorokan' off from Chernihiv's domains, and in 1097 the Novhorod-Sivers'kyi land was also divided from the Chernihiv principality. So, too, in the twelfth century were the Putyvl', Kursk, Murom, and Riazan' lands,

28 Close examination of the building of the Vyshhorod Church of SS. Boris and Gleb has recently been done by Martin Dimnik in his article "Oleg Svyatoslavich and the Cult of SS. Boris and Gleb," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988), forthcoming.

29 *Russian Primary Chronicle,* pp. 256, 270.

30 *PSRL*, vol. 7: *Letopis' po Voskresenskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1856), p. 22; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 20.

31 Kholostenko, "Chernigovskie kamennye kniazheskie terema XI v.," p. 12.

although they remained within the sphere of Chernihiv's political, ecclesiastical, and cultural influence. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries Chernihiv became almost completely independent of Kiev; at the same time it was flourishing and growing quickly in size.[32] At the beginning of the thirteenth century, on the eve of the Mongol invasion, Chernihiv had attained its highest political and military power, and it vied with Kiev and Halych for supremacy in southern Rus'.[33]

In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries extensive building of ecclesiastical and secular masonry structures was conducted in Chernihiv, undoubtedly, as it was in other contemporary Rus' towns, by accomplished native artists. A local architectural school had by then formed in Chernihiv. Its architectural style and building techniques were closest to the church architecture of the towns of the Dnieper region and Volhynia—Pereiaslav, Bilhorod, Ovruch, and, especially, Kiev and Smolensk. Chernihiv's political satellites, such as Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, Putyvl', Kursk, Vshchizh, Trubchevsk, Riazan', and others, imitated Chernihiv's ecclesiastical buildings.

The masonry churches of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in Chernihiv, as in other Rus' towns, differed significantly from the eleventh-century churches built strictly according to Byzantine traditions (e.g., the Cathedral of the Transfiguration). By developing the Byzantine traditions and by borrowing some Western achievements in architecture and building techniques, the Rus' artists fashioned their own distinctive national style of church architecture. In comparison with earlier churches, the masonry churches of twelfth-century Rus' were as a whole smaller in size, simpler in composition and construction, and more modest in decoration. But their number increased. Rus' artisans of the twelfth century no longer practiced the mixed laying of brick and stone *(opus mixtum)* with the "recessed rows of bricks." They were already using uniform ordered layings, whether of brick or stone, with a neat trimming of the junctures (a masonry technique called *opus isodos).* Church facades were frequently plastered. Towers with staircases leading to the choirs were no longer built, and the stairs were placed within the walls. Marble was no longer used in church decoration. The meander motif was rarely employed in decorating the façades; mosaics of smalt were also rare. The weakening of these Byzantine traditions in twelfth-century Rus' church architecture was accompanied by a

32 See Volodymyr Mezentsev, "Pro formuvannia mis'koi terytorii davn'oho Chernihova," *Arkheolohiia* (Kiev), 1980, no. 34, pp. 63-64.

33 Mezentsev, *Drevnii Chernigov,* pp. 22-23. Also see idem, "The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analysis Based on Recent Archaeological Research," *Russian Review* (forthcoming).

growing influence of Western Romanesque architecture. Romanesque features were manifested most in the whitestone buildings of the Galician and Vladimir-Suzdalian lands, and to a lesser degree in the brick churches of the Dnieper region and Volhynia. Under Romanesque influence the façades of Rus' churches were adorned with arched friezes and cornices, half-columns on pilasters, and whitestone carving.[34]

The features common in twelfth-century Rus' masonry architecture are also present in contemporaneous Chernihiv churches. There, as in the entire Dnieper region, which is poor in stone, techniques of brick building developed. The Chemihiv churches of the twelfth century have no equal in Rus', including Kiev, in the high mastery of brickwork technique and the durability of their brick and ceramic architectural details. It is noteworthy that Romanesque influence on twelfth-century Chernihiv church architecture appeared more strongly than in Kievan architecture, where Byzantine traditions predominated. Apparently, the architects from the Romanesque (Catholic) west were invited to work in Chemihiv as they had been brought to the Galician and Vladimir-Suzdalian lands in the twelfth century. A peculiarity of Chemihiv churches from the 1120s to the 1180s was the covering of brick walls with plaster, which was ruled into rectangles in imitation of the ordered whitestone laying of Romanesque buildings. First in Chemihiv, and then under its influence in Old Riazan', Rostov, and Iaroslavl', whitestone carved details were applied in brick buildings.[35] It was also from Chemihiv that the practice of encircling the church with tambours spread across Rus'.[36]

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David Sviatoslavich, who ruled in Chemihiv from 1097 to 1123, restored the princely palace near the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, whose two towers had been destroyed in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and continued masonry construction there. He built near the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, sometime between 1115 and 1123,[37] the Cathedral of SS. Boris and Glěb, where, according to the "Discourse on Princes," he him-

34 Cross, *Mediaeval Russian Churches,* pp. 22-23; *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva,* 1: 195; Aseev, *Arkhitektura,* pp. 115–16; Rappoport, *Drevnerusskaia arkhitektura,* pp. 20-50.

35 *Arkheologiia SSSR. Drevniaia Rus': Gorod, zamok, selo,* ed. B. A. Kolchin (Moscow, 1985), p. 164.

36 Aseev, *Arkhitektura,* pp. 131 - 136; *idem, Dzherela,* pp. 152-54.

37 N. V. Kholostenko, "Issledovaniia Borisoglebskogo sobora v Chernigove," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* (hereafter *SA)* (Moscow), 1967, no. 2, p. 188.

self was buried in 1123.[38] This church was erected on the site of one of the burned towers. Like the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb was built as a court church of the prince's palace and served as a burial chapel for Chernihiv's princes and higher clergy. The chronicle records that, in addition to David, his son Iziaslav was buried there in 1162.[39]

The Cathedral of Boris and Gleb was extensively rebuilt as a Catholic church in 1628, and was preserved thus until its complete destruction in World War II. The church's remains were excavated by the architect M. V. Kholostenko in 1947–1953, and the cathedral itself was reconstructed in its original form under his direction in 1955.

Kholostenko's studies showed that the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb was a domed cruciform church with three naves, three apses, six pillars, and one dome. It was smaller in size than the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, simpler in architectural composition, and more modest in interior decoration. Galleries surrounded it on the north and west, but these were not reconstructed. The northern gallery ended in a burial chapel, and a burial chapel also adjoined the southern façade. The stairs leading to the choirs were set inside the western wall. Inside the church, in the northern and southern walls, were niches *(arkasoli)* for aristocratic burials. The interior was decorated with frescoes, which have almost completely perished. The choir's parapets were adorned with slate slabs covered with carved plant and geometric ornamentation. The floor was paved by slate slabs with mosaic inlay and multicolored glazed ceramic tiles.

The walls of the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb were yellow brick built up by ordered layings, and the facings of the walls were covered with plaster ruled into rectangles recalling Romanesque whitestone laying. This original surface was not reproduced during the reconstruction. The facades were decorated by small niches, an arched frieze and cornice of ceramic details, and pilasters with half-columns. Excavations uncovered limestone capitals of half-columns and the base of a church portal, bearing relief depiction of mythical creatures and plant ornamentation of the Romanesque type.[40] In addition to tridents (the signs of princely artisans), the cathedral's bricks also bore many notches associated with the free town craftsmen who took

38 "Slovo pokhval'noe na perenesenie moshchei Svv. Borisa i Gleba," ed. Kh. Loparev, in *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti*, vol. 98 (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 17.

39 *PSRL*, vol. 2, col. 518.

40 N. V. Kholostenko, "Neizvestnye pamiatniki monumental'noi skul'ptury Drevnei Rusi: Rel'efy Borisoglebskogo sobora v Chernigove," *Iskusstvo*, 1953, no. 3, pp. 84-91.

part in building the church.[41] A number of churches imitated some features of the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb in Chernihiv: the Cathedral of the Dormition built later in the twelfth century in Old Riazan', the Cathedral of St. George in Kaniv (1144), and the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb (1146) in the Smiadyn' Monastery near Smolensk.

The Cathedral of the Dormition of the Ielets'kyi Monastery in Chernihiv survives with a few insignificant seventeenth-century renovations.[42] The monastery was founded in 1069 by St. Antonii of Kiev's Caves Monastery and Prince Sviatoslav Iaroslavich. The exact date of the church's building is unknown, but most specialists date it to the first half of the twelfth century on the basis of its architecture and construction techniques. Damaged by fire during World War II, the church was studied and restored in 1952-1960. Among the buildings of medieval Chernihiv and the entire Dnieper region, the Cathedral of the Dormition is distinguished by the high quality of its brickwork, the solidity and preservation of its brick, and the ceramic decorative materials.[43] Judging from the brick markings, the cathedral was built by monastic (or episcopal), princely, and free town artisans.

The Cathedral of the Dormition is cruciform in ground plan, with six pillars, three naves, and three apses. Its dimensions are similar to Chernihiv's Cathedral of Boris and Gleb. Some scholars suggest that initially the church had one dome,[44] whereas others believe that it had three.[45] Its domes were rebuilt in the seventeenth century in the style of the Ukrainian Baroque and survive in this appearance. Originally the church had tambours on three sides before the entrances, but they are not preserved.

The Cathedral of the Dormition is particularly rich in Romanesque architectural features, especially its western facade.[46] The western, northern, and southern facades were divided by pilasters with half-columns and adorned by a ceramic frieze in a round-arch motif. The church walls were plastered

[41] Kholostenko, ''Issledovaniia Borisoglebskogo sobora," pp. 188-210.
[42] See Ipolit Morhilevs'kyi, "Uspens'ka tserkva Ielets'koho monastyria v Chernihovi," in *Chernyhiv i Pivnichne livoberezhzhia* (Kiev, 1928), pp. 197-200; N. V. Kholostenko, ''Arkhitekturno-arkheologicheskie issledovaniia Uspenskogo sobora Eletskogo monastyria v Chernigove,'' in *Pamiatnikkul'tury* (Moscow), 1961, no. 3, pp. 51-67.
[42] See Rappoport, *Russkaia arkhitektura X–XIII v.*, p. 46. Also see E. V. Vorob'eva and A. A. Tits, ''O datirovke Uspenskogo i Borisoglebskogo soborov v Chernigove," *SA*, 1974, no. 2, p. 108.
[43] *Aseev, Arkhitektura,* p. 134.
[44] I. A. Ignatkin, *Chernigov* (Moscow, 1955), p. 54; Lohvyn, *Chernigov*, p. 84; Faensen and Ivanov, *Early Russian Architecture,* p. 337.
[45] Kholostenko, "Arkhitekturno-arkheologicheskie issledovaniia Uspenskogo sobora," p. 61; Rappoport, *Drevnerusskaia arkhitektura,* p. 26; Aseev, *Dzherela,* p. 155.
[46] *Aseev, Arkhitektura,* p. 136-38.

and scored into rectangles, as in the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb. But here whitestone details were not used. The narthex is clearly articulated. There is a small baptistery in the narthex's southern part with an apse adorned by an arched cornice combined with a so-called saw-tooth pattern. Burial niches are located in the walls of the narthex. Excavations found fragments of multicolored stained-glass window panes. The original floor was paved with bricks, slate slabs, and multicolored glazed ceramic tiles. The interior of the cathedral was decorated with frescoes distinguished by their artistry and originality. But only fragments survive of such compositions as "The Last Judgment," "The Baptism," "The Three Children in the Fiery Oven," and the figures of three saints, two of them possibly Oranta and St. Helena. The closest analogues in type to the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Ielets'kyi Monastery are Chernihiv's Cathedral of Boris and Gleb, Kiev's Church of St. Cyril of the mid-twelfth century, and the Cathedral of the Dormition of 1160 in Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi. Most notably, the late-twelfth-century Cathedral of Boris and Gleb in Old Riazan' repeated its groundplan almost exactly.[47]

Also extant is the Church of Elijah at the monastery of the same name in the Boldin Hills on the outskirts of Chernihiv. The church is picturesquely situated on an incline of a hill close to the entrance to the Caves Monastery, whose initial construction is attributed to St. Antonii of Kiev around 1069. The precise date of the church's foundation is unknown, but judging from its architecture, building technique, and brick markings, it belongs to the twelfth century. The marks on the bricks indicate that the church was built by a prince and possibly by a bishop. Its building techniques and materials are similar to those of Chernihiv's Cathedrals of Boris and Gleb and of the Dormition, and match them in quality.

The Church of Elijah is small, with one apse, one nave, no columns. It is the sole church of this sort preserved in the Dnieper region, although the type was widespread in Byzantium and in the Balkan countries, in their monasteries and palace complexes.[48] It has a small narthex, and choirs resting on wooden platforms. Originally the church had one dome and was decorated only with pilasters and an arched cornice. Like the Cathedrals of Boris and Gleb and of the Dormition, the walls of the Elijah church were covered with plaster and divided into rectangles recalling the whitestone

[47] A. L. Mongait, "Staraia Riazan'," *MIA*, 1955, no. 49, pp. 78, 89-90; G. K. Vagner, "Arkhitekturnye fragmenty Staroi Riazani," in *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* (Moscow), 1963, no. 15, pp. 23-24.

[48] Aseev, *Arkhitektura*, p. 142; Iakobson, *Zakonomernosti v razvitii srednevekovoi arkhitektury*, pp. 85, 114-16.

ordered laying of Romanesque buildings. In the seventeenth century the original church's dome was raised by a high Baroque dome and two new domes were erected. Above the windows of the facades figured platbands were added. This sort of small one-nave church was developed in Ukrainian masonry church architecture in the fifteenth through seventeenth century.[49]

According to the chronicle, in the new princely court in Chernihiv, on the bank of the Stryzhen' River, the prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich in 1174 founded a masonry Church of St. Michael.[50] The church is not preserved, but excavation of its foundations conducted in 1956 by Boris Rybakov established that it was a small church typical of Rus' palace complexes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It had four pillars, three naves, and three apses. The church was dedicated to the patron saint of its founder, Sviatoslav, whose baptismal name was Michael.

In 1177 Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich moved from Chernihiv to the princely throne in Kiev, where, in 1183 he completed the construction of the masonry Church of St. Basil (also known as the Tr'okhsviatytel's'ka Church) in the princely "Great Court." This church was destroyed by Soviet authorities in 1935-36. At almost the same time Sviatoslav built a richer and larger church in his patrimony, namely, Chernihiv's Cathedral of the Annunciation, which, according to the chronicle, the prince had consecrated in 1186.[51] This cathedral is not preserved, but its foundations were excavated by Rybakov in 1946-47 somewhat north of the new prince's palace on the Stryzhen'.[52]

Rybakov's investigations showed that the Cathedral of the Annunciation was a large domed cruciform church with six pillars, three naves, and three apses. On the north, west, and south it was surrounded by closed two-story galleries with burial chapels. It has been suggested that the church had five domes, like the Cathedral of the Transfiguration. Pilasters with half-columns articulated the façades of the galleries. It is noteworthy that the

49 Iurii S. Aseev and Hryhorii N. Lohvyn, "Arkhitektura Il'inskoi tserkvi v Chernigove," *Pytannia istorii arkhitektury ta budivel'noi tekhniky Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1959); Lohvyn, *Chernigov*, pp. 103-107; Aseev, *Arkhitektura*, pp. 142-44; N. V. Kholostenko, "Il'inskaia tserkov' v Chernigove po issledovaniiam 1964- 1965 gg.," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Khudozhestvennaia kul'tura domongol'skoi Rusi* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 88-99.

50 *PSRL*, vol. 2, col. 571.

50 L. A. Beliaev, "Iz istorii zodchestva drevnego Chernigova," in *Problemy istorii SSSR* (Moscow, 1974), vol. 4, pp. 3–18.

51 *PSRL*, vol. 2, col. 652.

52 Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," pp. 69-87; idem, "Blahovishchens'ka tserkva u Chernihovi 1186 roku za danymy rozkopok," in *Arkhitekturni pam'iatnyky* (Kiev, 1950), pp. 53-63.

half-columns were composed of yellow brick, whereas the façades were built up from red brick. This method of two-color brickwork was unusual for Old Rus'. Marks on the bricks were made mainly by princely artisans. The church walls were adorned with an arched frieze. The interior and, evidently, also the exterior were decorated with carved whitestone details. Fragments of the walls with relief wattle ornamentation, similar to whitestone carving on the churches of Vladimir-on-the-Kliaz'ma, have been found. Particularly handsome was the church's floor, which was covered with multicolored glazed ceramic tiles and slate slabs with smalt mosaic inlay. Preserved is a fragment of the floor with a colorful mosaic depiction of a peacock, a unique artistic work of Old Rus'. The interior was decorated with frescoes.

The Cathedral of the Annunciation (including the galleries), in its dimensions and rich decoration, rivaled Chernihiv's Cathedral of the Transfiguration and the other outstanding eleventh-century churches of Rus', and revived the traditions of that era's splendid church architecture. The closest analogues of the Annunciation church of 1186 in Chernihiv are the main church of old Halych, the Cathedral of the Dormition built in 1187 by Iaroslav Osmomysl, and the largest church of old Vladimir-on-the-Kliaz'ma, the Cathedral of the Dormition, completed in 1189 by Vsevolod III.[53] The similarity of these three outstanding churches of Chernihiv, Halych, and Vladimir-on-the-Kliaz'ma reflects the rivalry of these towns and the most powerful Rus' princes of the epoch recorded in the *Lay of Igor' 's Campaign*—Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich, Iaroslav Osmomysl, and Vsevolod III. Vsevolod Sviatoslavich, one of the heroes of the *Lay*, called in the poem "Bui-Tur Vsevolod," the younger brother of Igor' and a participant in his campaign against the Cumans in 1185, was buried in Chernihiv's Cathedral of the Annunciation in 1196.[54]

The Church of St. Paraskeva P"iatnytsia in the old market of Chernihiv is considered a masterpiece of Old Rus' architecture The year of its foundation and the identity of its founder are unknown, but from its architecture and building techniques it can be assigned to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The church was greatly rebuilt in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the style of the Ukrainian Baroque, in which aspect it was preserved until its destruction during World War II. In the late 1940s and early 1950s the church's ruins were studied, and by 1962 it had been

53 Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," pp. 91-93.
54 *PSRL*, vol. 2, col. 696.

restored to its original form by the project of the architect P. D. Baranovskii.[55]

Architectural and archaeological studies showed that the P"iatnytsia church was not a monastic church, but a parish church standing on the market square of a commercial suburb of medieval Chernihiv. Brick marks indicate that the church was built not so much by princely artisans as by free town craftsmen. Many scholars suggest that the church's architect was Petro Miloneh, the architect of Prince Riurik Rostislavich, who built a series of famous masonry buildings in Kiev, Ovruch, and Bilhorod in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[56] Some specialists believe, however, that the church's architect was a representative of the local Chernihiv architectural school.[57]

Of all the extant churches of the Dnieper region, the P"iatnytsia church most expressively embodies the new stylistic trend of Old Rus' architecture which appeared toward the end of the twelfth century, and contains many compositional and constructive innovations. Its builders skillfully and boldly developed, according to Rus' tastes, the traditional scheme of the domed cruciform church inherited from Byzantium. It is possible that the architectural composition of the P"iatnytsia church was influenced by wooden Rus' folk architecture.[58] The church's builders also displayed a broad knowledge of the architectural legacy of eleventh-century Rus' along with the contemporary architecture of Kiev, Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, Ovruch, Smolensk, Polatsk, Pskov, and the West. Some influences of Gothic architecture are evident in the use of arrow-point arches in the windows and niches of the church, the proliferation of the pilasters, and the brickwork techniques.[59]

The P"iatnytsia church is small in size, has a cruciform plan, four pillars, three naves, three apses, and one dome. The church itself is distinguished from the traditional type of domed cruciform church by an innovation in the design of the dome and ceilings. There, instead of the usual semicircular gables (*zakomary*), for the first time three levels of stepped vaults were constructed, which allowed the drum of the dome to be raised

55 P. D. Baranovskii, "Sobor Piatnitskogo monastyria v Chernigove," in *Pamiatniki iskusstva, razrushennye nemetskimi zakhvatchikami v SSSR* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1948), pp. 13-35; N. V. Kholostenko, "Arkhitekturno-arkheologicheskie issledovaniia Piatnitskoi tserkvi v g. Chernigove (1953-1954 gg.)," *SA* 1956, no. 26, pp. 271–92.

56 Baranovskii, "Sobor Piatnitskogo monastyria," p. 33; Kholostenko, "Arkhitekturno-arkheologicheskie issledovaniia Piatnitskoi tserkvi," p. 292; Lohvyn, *Chernigov*, p. 59; Rappoport, *Drevnerusskaia arkhitektura*, p. 56.

57 Aseev, *Arkhitektura*, p. 170.

58 Ignatkin, *Chernigov*, p. 50; Faensen and Ivanov, *Early Russian Architecture*, p. 338.

59 *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, 1:207–208.

higher over the main body of the building. This, together with the extended proportions of the dome's drum, impart to the whole composition of the church a pyramidicity and a dynamic movement upwards. This impression of verticality is emphasized by the proliferation of pilasters and half-columns on the facades and on the dome's drum, by the arrow-point arches of the windows and niches, and by the abundance of other vertical forms in the decor of the exterior. Major attention in the P"iatnytsia church was devoted to the exterior architecture. These features distinguish the new architectural style of Rus' churches of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries from Byzantine and Romanesque churches, for which static cubic composition and greater attention to interior architecture were characteristic.[60]

The P"iatnytsia church was composed of red brick. The ornamental brickwork is particularly elaborate. In the decoration of the façades traditional meander and saw-tooth brick bands were combined with new, unusual lattice and zigzag patterns of brick. The drum of the dome has an arched cornice. Slate decorative details were used, but whitestone ones were not. Frescoes covered the interior, the windows' apertures, and the niches on the facades. The adornment of the church's façades with frescoes was an innovation. Excavations found fragments of frescoes with variegated geometric and plant motifs. The floor was paved with multicolored glazed ceramic tiles. The stairs to the choirs were placed in the thickness of the western wall. On the level of the choirs, the northern and southern walls had narrow internal galleries, like many contemporaneous Rus' churches.

Other pre-Mongol churches displaying features of this same new stylistic trend in Rus' architecture and analogous to Chernihiv's P"iatnytsia church include St. Basil's church in Ovruch (1180–1194), the Church of the Apostles in Bilhorod (1197), a church from the end of the twelfth century excavated near the Art Institute in Kiev (supposed to be the Church of St. Basil of 1197), the Church of the Archangel Michael in Smolensk (1191–1194), the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Pskov (1193), and the Church of St. Paraskeva P"iatnytsia in the Marketplace of Novgorod the Great (1207). The influence of the P"iatnytsia church in Chernihiv was reflected in the architecture of contemporaneous churches in Novhorod-Sivers'kyi (the church at the Monastery of the Transfiguration of the Savior), Putyvl' (the Church of the Ascension), Vshchizh, and Trubchevsk. Many of these churches, according to their reconstructions, had recessed vaulting arches

[60] Vagner, "Arkhitekturnye fragmenty," p. 18; Aseev, *Arkhitektura*, p. 155; Rappoport, *Drevnerusskaia arkhitektura,* pp. 51–58.

similar to that in Chernihiv's St. P"iatnytsia. The compositional and constructive methods of building the church in a tower-like form with an upper story mounting stepwise to the dome, which was used for the first time in the P"iatnytsia church, was widely developed in Ukrainian and Muscovite church architecture in the fourteenth through seventeenth century.[61]

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The destruction of Chernihiv in 1239 by the Mongols and the subsequent dominance of the invaders in Rus' halted masonry church building in the town until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Considering the exceptionally large extent of the town of Chernihiv (around 400-450 hectares) in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,[62] this survey of masonry churches that are either extant or known from chronicle records and archaeological excavations far from exhausts their actual number in pre-Mongol Chemihiv. Nevertheless, the available, albeit limited, data about the number of masonry churches in old Chemihiv and the high quality of their architecture and building techniques permits the conclusion that from the eleventh to the early thirteenth century (the pre-Mongol period) Chemihiv was the leading center of church building in all southeastern Rus', i.e., in the vast territory of the Old Rus' lands from the Middle Dnieper in the west to the Don and Oka in the east. The churches of old Chemihiv, which embody the synthesis of Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic, and local Rus' architectural forms, are among the finest products of Kievan Rus' culture.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto

61 Lohvyn, *Chernigov,* p. 59.

62 Andrii A. Karnabida, *Chemihiv: Arkhitekturnyi-istorychnyi narys* (Kiev, 1980), p. 25; Mezentsev, *Drevnii Chernigov,* p. 22.

62 For example, the archaeologists detected the remnants of a twelfth-century masonry church under the foundations of the St. Catherine church of the eighteenth century. See Bohusevych, "Arkheolohichni rozkopky v Chernihovi v 1949 ta 1951 IT.," p. 8; Rappoport, ''Russkaia arkhitektura X–XIII vv.,'' p. 44. Recently, the foundations of a small church from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century were uncovered on the high bank of the Desna River between the Ielets'kyi and Elijah monasteries on Siverians'ka Street. This church had three apses, two pillars, and a narthex, and probably belonged to a monastery that is not named in the sources. See *Arkheologiia Ukrainskoi SSR,* vol. 3 (Kiev, 1986). p. 278; V. P. Kovalenko, "Issledovaniia v Chernigove," in *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1984 goda* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 246-47. Moreover, the remnants of the pre-Mongol palace church and its aristocratic burial sites were found in the city's center in 1986. However, the published information on these newly discovered Chernihiv churches is preliminary and scant as yet.

The Monetary History of Kiev in the Pre-Mongol Period

THOMAS S. NOONAN

INTRODUCTION

The city of Kiev was unquestionably the major political, economic, and religious center of Rus' during the entire pre-Mongol era. While there are a number of written sources for Kiev's history at this time and archaeological excavations provide an ever-growing understanding of Kiev's life prior to 1240, we must not neglect the numismatic evidence. The monetary sources from this era can help to answer many important questions about Kiev's early history for which the written and/or archaeological data are meager, obscure, or lacking. This study explores what these monetary sources suggest about Kiev during the period when it was the greatest town of the Rus' lands.

Several points should be made clear at the outset. First, by monetary sources are meant coins as well as pieces of metal used as money. For our purposes, the term "pieces of metal used as money" refers specifically to ingots or *monetni hryvny (monetnye grivny)*, many of which circulated during the pre-Mongol era, during which they began to replace coins as the chief form of metallic money. This definition of monetary sources means that we shall focus on the actual coins and ingots that either reached Kiev from elsewhere or were issued in Kiev during the pre-Mongol era. Of no concern to us here are the various terms for monetary units of account found in written sources such as the *Rus'skaia Pravda.*

Applying the above definition, our study will consider five main types of money:

(1) Islamic coins, primarily the silver *dirhams* often referred to in older works as kufic coins;
(2) Byzantine coins of silver, gold, and copper;
(3) West European silver coins, or deniers;
(4) Rus' coins of gold, silver, and billon, usually referred to as *zolotnyky (zlatniki)* (gold coins) and *sribnyky (srebreniki)* (silver coins);
(5) ingots or *monetni hryvny (monetnye grivny),* primarily those of silver having a hexagonal shape and usually described as being "of the Kiev type".

In order to facilitate our analysis, we shall examine each type of money separately and reserve generalizations for the conclusion.

This study assumes that there were no indigenous sources of gold or silver in Kiev or adjacent areas during the pre-Mongol era. Such an assumption is implicit in almost all studies of Rus' monetary history, but it is best to state it explicitly. Furthermore, it is assumed that gold and silver had a very real value which was almost universally recognized throughout western Eurasia. Based on these assumptions, we must conclude that all the gold or silver coins or ingots found in Kiev or struck there stem from imports of precious metals. These coins and ingots thus represent the transfer of tangible wealth from somewhere else to Kiev.

It is often assumed that the circulation of coins and ingots in early Rus' was due to trade. While trade played an important role in monetary circulation, it was not the only factor that led to the transfer of tangible, metallic wealth. Here we will briefly outline a number of reasons why metallic wealth ended up in Kiev.

1. *Trade.* Trade has two aspects as a source of money. First, coins and ingots could be used to make up any deficit produced in the bartering of goods. Second, since there were no indigenous sources of silver or gold in early Kiev, coins made of these precious metals were also considered a good or product to be deliberately sought in any exchange of wares. Coins of precious metal were at times melted down and used to make other goods. The large quantity of silver jewelry deposited in Kiev during the pre-Mongol era required the importation, at some point, of a great deal of silver, which we can presume was in the form of silver coinage, at least until the early twelfth century. All in all, the volume of Kiev's bullion trade was probably far greater than the monetary finds per se suggest.

2. *Secular Taxes.* Here taxes refers to the assorted goods that various tributary peoples were forced to give the rulers of Kiev. Most of these goods, the written sources make clear, were furs, wax, honey, and slaves.[1] The Primary Chronicle also notes, however, that certain East Slavic tribes had paid tribute to the Khazars in the form of coins before coming under Rus' rule. The chronicle specifically states that after submitting to the Rus', some of the East Slavic tribes simply switched their payments of tribute in coinage to the Rus' rulers.[2] Probably, then, some of the coinage and even ingots that reached Kiev were acquired as taxes exorted from subject

[1] According to the Primary Chronicle, the Derevlianians paid the princes of Kiev a tribute of one black marten skin apiece: *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (hereafter *RPC-L*), trans. and ed. Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 61, s.a. 883. We can also assume that most of the furs, wax, honey, and slaves reaching the lower Danube from Rus', i.e., from Kiev, were originally obtained there as tribute. Ibid, p. 86, s.a. 969.

[2] *RPC-L*, p. 61, s.a. 885, and p. 84, s.a. 964.

peoples. Precious metals, particularly silver coins, circulated in substantial quantities in various parts of the Rus' lands, and it is likely that the Rus' rulers welcomed the payment of tribute in silver coins.

3. *Religious Taxes.* From the time of Volodimer's conversion to Orthodoxy, the rulers of Rus' endowed churches and monasteries with permanent revenues. These grants often took the form of a portion, normally a tenth, of the rulers' income or the transfer of villages whose inhabitants now paid taxes to the church or monastery thus endowed. Indeed, Volodimer began this practice by giving a tithe of his property and cities to the new Church of the Holy Virgin in 996, as a result of which it became known as the Desiatynna (Tithes) Church.[3] Later princes were also generous patrons of ecclesiastical establishments. In 1158, Prince Glěb and his wife gave the Kiev Monastery of the Caves 700 hryvny of silver, 100 hryvny of gold, and villages.[4] A considerable part of the coins and ingots found in pre-Mongol Kiev came from the lands of various churches and monasteries. In any event, part of Kiev's monetary wealth came in the form of taxes as well as offerings made to the city's churches and monasteries.

4. *Loot.* The many military campaigns conducted by the city's rulers obtained much loot, including money. As Grand Prince Volodimer Sviatoslavich himself commented, with a good retinue he could win gold and silver.[5] Grand Prince Sviatoslav also commented (in 1075) that while tangible wealth lay dormant, with live vassals one could gain even greater wealth.[6] The chronicles provide vivid examples of the vast loot obtained from campaigns within Rus'. In 1150, for example, Prince Volodimer of Halych demanded a large silver payment from the people of Myches'k "or else I will plunder your city." The townspeople took silver (jewelry) from their ears and necks, melted it down, and gave it to him. Volodimer then extorted more silver from other towns on his way back to Halych from Myches'k.[7] A few years later, during the endemic inter-princely strife, Prince Mstislav obtained much gold, silver, slaves, horses, and cattle by looting the retinue of Prince Iziaslav in Kiev itself.[8]

5. *Gifts.* Gift-giving, especially among princes, was responsible for the transfer of large quantities of tangible wealth to Kiev. Sometimes the practice resulted in a net loss for Rus', as in 1075 when Grand Prince Sviatoslav

[3] *RPC-L*, p. 121, s.a. 996.
[4] *The Kievan Chronicle*, trans. and with commentary by Lisa Heinrich (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1977), pp. 230-31, s.a. 1158.
[5] *RPC-L*, p. 122, s.a. 996.
[6] *RPC-L*, p. 164, s.a. 1075.
[7] *Kievan Chronicle*, p. 150, s.a. 1150.
[8] *Kievan Chronicle*, p. 241, s.a. 1159.

showed the ambassadors of the Holy Roman Emperor his vast riches of gold, silver, and silk, and then gave them many gifts for their return trip home.[9] In 1132, Grand Prince Iaropolk gave another prince "gold, silver, pearls, horses, and armour...."[10] Churchmen also gave gifts lavishly. When Bishop Elias of Novgorod visited the new metropolitan Ioan in Kiev around 1166, he brought him gold, silver, pearls, silks, and furs.[11] Much of the gift-giving only exchanged wealth within Rus'. In 1132, for instance, Grand Prince Iziaslav of Kiev gave gifts obtained from the Kiev area and Byzantium to Prince Rostislav of Smolensk while Rostislav presented Iziaslav with goods from northern Rus' and the Baltic.[12] Dowries were another form of gift-giving. In 1187, for example, Grand Prince Vsevolod gave much gold and silver together with other gifts as a dowry for his daughter Verkhuslava.[13]

6. *Bribes.* Monies were sometimes paid to Rus' and foreign rulers to leave a town in peace or to help a Rus' prince seize a particular town. In 1144, for instance, Prince Volodimer had to pay Prince Vsevolod 1,400 hryvny of silver to make peace.[14] Six years later, the King of Hungary demanded much gold and other valuables to return home.[15] In 1190 Prince Volodimer fled to the Holy Roman Emperor and reportedly promised him 2,000 silver hryvny per year in return for the emperor's help in regaining the throne of Halych.[16]

This list is by no means exhaustive; rather, it demonstrates that there were many sources, among which trade was unquestionably very important, for the coins and ingots deposited in Kiev during the pre-Mongol era. Unfortunately, there is no way to apportion Kiev's monetary wealth among these numerous factors. What is certain is that no mono-causal approach can properly explain monetary circulation in Kiev in the pre-Mongol era.

It can surely be argued, however, that much of the net growth in Kiev's wealth came from trade. For most of the other factors, the influx of monetary wealth into Kiev was probably offset by a corresponding outlay. Gifts, as we have seen, were often reciprocated. While Kiev undoubtedly amassed a sizeable amount of booty, it, too, was looted on several

9 *RPC-L,* p. 164, s.a. 1075.

10 *The Nikonian Chronicle,* vol. 2: *From the Year 1132–1240,* ed., trans., and with commentary by Serge A. and Betty Jean Zenkovsky (Princeton, 1984), p. 2, s.a. 1132.

11 *Nikonian Chronicle,* p. 133, s.a. 1166.

12 *Kievan Chronicle,* p. 98, s.a. 1148.

13 *Kievan Chronicle,* pp. 429-30, s.a. 1187.

14 *Kievan Chronicle,* p. 38, s.a. 1144.

15 *Kievan Chronicle,* p. 140, s.a. 1150.

16 *Kievan Chronicle,* p. 440, s.a. 1190.

occasions. In 1169 Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii sacked Kiev, and the city was plundered again in 1203 by Prince Riurik. On the former occasion, the chronicles report, Kiev was looted for two days, the Podil and many churches were sacked, and much wealth was seized.[17] On the latter occasion, the Ol'govichi and their Polovtsian allies looted the Podil and other sections of Kiev and robbed the churches.[18]

Kiev's rulers also paid bribes and made related payments. In 1151, for example, Grand Prince Iziaslav paid the Hungarians handsomely for helping him to take Kiev.[19] In 1174, Grand Prince Iaroslav had to pay Prince Sviatoslav of Chernihiv a huge ransom to regain his captured family and retinue.[20] This ransom was paid via a tax on all inhabitants of Kiev, as well as on the church.[21] The city's princes were also forced to make constant and often sizeable expenditures to secure protection and to appease potential foes.

The taxes and offerings acquired by Kiev's lay and ecclesiastical lords probably accounted for some net gain in monetary wealth. But Kiev's rulers used a good part of their revenue to provide the gifts needed to cement temporary friendships with other princes, to maintain the retinue and Turkic auxilliaries that constituted the nucleus of the princely army, to erect and endow new churches and monasteries, and even to help the poor.[22]

The inhabitants of Kiev, especially the grand princes, did acquire a great deal of tangible wealth during the pre-Mongol era. Already under Grand Prince Volodimer Sviatoslavich, the prince's treasury was filled with marten pelts and his special guests used silver spoons.[23] When the people of Kiev pillaged the residence of Grand Prince Iziaslav in 1068, they took huge quantities of gold, silver, and furs.[24] A few years later, when Iziaslav again fled Kiev, he took much treasure with him.[25] The German envoys who visited Grand Prince Sviatoslav in 1075 were shown an "innumerable

17 *Kievan Chronicle,* p. 295, s.a. 1171; *Nikonian Chronicle,* 2: 142, s.a. 1170.
18 *Nikonian Chronicle,* 2: 216, s.a. 1202.
19 *Kievan Chronicle, p.* 153, s.a. 1151.
20 *Kievan Chronicle,* p. 337, s.a. 1174.
21 *Nikonian Chronicle,* 2: 156–57, s.a. 1175.
22 As early as 996, the Primary Chronicle reported (*RPC-L,* p. 121, s.a. 996) that Grand Prince Volodimer gave 300 hryvny to Kiev's poor and provided beggars and the destitute with food and drink.
23 *RPC-L,* pp. 121–22, s.a. 996.
24 *RPC-L,* p. 148, s.a. 1068.
25 *RPC-L,* p. 155, s.a. 1073.

quantity of gold, silver, and silks...."[26] Avarice was apparently so well developed among the Rus' princes that the chroniclers took special note of those who did not hoard gold and silver in their treasuries but distributed some of their wealth among retainers and others.[27] Of course, the monk-chroniclers may have had a vested interest in encouraging princes to share their wealth.

The picture of Kiev's tremendous wealth found in the written sources is in complete accord with the material evidence. Archaeological discoveries as well as chance finds have uncovered huge quantities of tangible wealth in and around Kiev. It has been estimated, for instance, that hoards found in Kiev from the pre-Mongol era contained over 3,000 pieces of jewelry made from gold, silver, and their alloys.[28] Individual pieces of jewelry found during archaeological excavations should be added to this sum. In her fundamental study of treasure hoards from pre-Mongol Rus', Korzukhina described 3 hoards from Kiev dating between the mid-tenth and early eleventh centuries, 2 hoards from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and 47 hoards deposited between the 1170s and 1240.[29] Thirty percent of all treasure hoards found in the Rus' lands that date from between the ninth century and 1240 originated in the city of Kiev. To this vast wealth of Kiev must be added the coins and ingots not found in treasure hoards.

The study of Kiev's monetary history should give us some insights into the vitality and prosperity that made pre-Mongol Kiev the premier city in Rus'.

* * *

To facilitate our analysis, the pertinent finds of each of five types of coins and ingots are given in a separate appendix (appendix A = Islamic coins; appendix B = Byzantine coins; appendix C = West European coins; appendix D = monetary ingots; appendix E = Rus' coins). Since Sotnikova and Spasskii have recently completed a comprehensive study of Rus' coinage, I have reproduced their catalogue of finds here, as appendix E.[30] Appendixes A-D represent my own work. Scholars specializing in chronicles and

26 *RPC-L*, p. 164, s.a. 1075.

27 *Kievan Chronicle*, p. 301, s.a. 1172; p. 375, s.a. 1178; p. 423, s.a. 1187; p. 483, s.a. 1197.

28 *Novoe v arkheologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981), p. 350.

29 G. F. Korzukhina, *Russkie klady IX–XIII vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1954), pp. 83-84, no. 12-14; pp. 90-91, no. 29-30; pp. 105-126, no. 65–111.

30 M. P. Sotnikova and I. G. Spasski, *Russian Coins of the X-XI Centuries A.D.: Recent Research and a Corpus in Commemoration of the Millenary of the Earliest Russian Coinage*, trans. H. B. Wells (Oxford, 1982); idem, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii: Svodnyi katalog russkikh monet X-XI vekov* (Leningrad, 1983).

documents who know the many difficulties of interpreting the written word may view wistfully the "certainty" of archaeological and numismatic finds. Alas, no such "certainty" exists, at least not for our monetary evidence. Discrepancies exist in the accounts of far too many finds. It is not always possible to determine exactly what was found, much less when and where the discoveries were made.

A few examples can illustrate these problems with our data base. For many years it was believed that two hoards containing German deniers from the reign of Henry II (1002-1024) had been found in Kiev.[31] However, a recent study maintains that no such hoards ever existed: the first hoard resulted from a confusion with an earlier denier find in Kiev, and the second was created through a misunderstanding of the data.[32] Hence two denier hoards from Kiev that had been referred to repeatedly for over a century are now labeled fictitious. In 1900, a coin-treasure hoard including gold and silver ingots became part of the collection of B. I. Khanenko. Korzukhina gave the find-spot as Divocha hora, near the village of Sakhnivka, in the Kaniv county.[33] On the other hand, one of the leading contemporary specialists on early Kiev, P. P. Tolochko, indicates that this same hoard was in fact found on the lands of the former St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery.[34] Thus, we cannot be certain exactly where a hoard was unearthed. Lesser differences also abound. The contents of many hoards are variously reported. It is not clear, in such cases, how many ingots were part of a hoard or exactly how many coins of a particular type were found. Many lists of particular types of coins or ingots omit finds noted on other lists, give alternative dates of discovery for the same find, or combine separate finds into a larger hoard.

Another serious handicap is that many important finds were dispersed before they were studied even preliminarily. Such was the case, for instance, with the large coin-treasure hoard found along the Khreshchatyk in 1787,[35] as well as the large coin hoard uncovered in the Podil during 1889.[36] Even the proper recovery of a hoard does not guarantee its preservation for scholarly study. The hoard of almost 2,400 silver coins found in Kiev during 1706 was apparently dispersed without any record while nomi-

31 Appendix C, no. 2.
32 *Novoe v arkheologii*, pp. 420–22.
33 Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 131, no. 127.
34 P. P. Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev* (Kiev, 1983), p. 173, no. 25.
35 Appendix A, no. 2.
36 Appendix A, no. 9.

nally held in the Coin Cabinet of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg.[37] Some hoards have been preserved only in part, e.g., the very large dirham hoard found in Kiev in 1851.[38] There is no way to determine if the surviving portion is representative of the hoard as a whole. In other cases, the contents of major hoards found long ago have still not been published in full, e.g., the large 1913 dirham hoard from Kiev[39] and the dirham hoard from Bondari in Oster county, Chernihiv province.[40] The Khabrivka hoard allegedly found near Kiev was in private hands for over a half century before being donated to museums in Poland; the preserved coins clearly suggest that part of the original hoard was lost.[41] Many descriptions of hoards refer vaguely to "some coins," "many coins," "Byzantine coins," "several ingots," etc. Finally, despite my best efforts, various finds have probably been inadvertently omitted or inaccurately reported. Nonetheless, the appendixes given here do summarize most of what we now know about the pertinent finds from Kiev.

I was initially inclined to limit my investigation here to only those coins and ingots found in Kiev itself. This approach, taken in several recent studies, does have merit. Yet I believe such a restricted geographical focus would be misleading. Islamic, Byzantine, and West European coins were imported into Rus' from abroad. While we cannot determine with certainty whether the deposits of such coins found outside of Kiev represent coins that were being brought to Kiev or had been taken from the city, it seems reasonable to connect many of these finds with Kiev. In any event, certain find-spots outside the city can arguably be associated with the monetary wealth of Kiev, whether as imports or exports. These regions include nearly all of the current Kiev oblast' except the town of Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi and adjacent areas, much of the former Kaniv and Cherkasy counties now in Cherkasy oblast', and Oster county in Chernihiv province. In other words, I have excluded from these appendixes those parts of the middle Dnieper probably connected with the Old Rus' towns of Liubech, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav and all areas beyond them. My approach may be overly inclusive, but it does ensure that the monetary wealth of what can be be called greater Kiev is considered.

37 Appendix A, no. 1.
38 Appendix A, no. 4.
39 Appendix A, no. 16.
40 Appendix A, no. 30.
41 Appendix A, no. 31.

Most of the Rus' coins as well as most hexagonal ingots of the so-called Kiev type were presumably struck in Kiev, so we need to consider the finds of such coins and ingots regardless of where they were deposited. Appendixes D and E list all known finds of hexagonal ingots and Rus' coins struck in Kiev wherever they occur. In addition, appendix D lists finds of non-hexagonal ingots of the pre-Mongol era from both Kiev and greater Kiev.

Islamic Coins

Almost all the Islamic coins brought into Eastern Europe and the Baltic during the Viking Age were silver *dirhams.* Almost no Islamic gold coins *(dinars)* or copper coins (*fulūs*, sing. *fals*) reached these areas.[42] Dirhams first appeared in Eastern Europe during the late eighth century following the establishment of more peaceful relations between Arabs and Khazars in the Caucasus.[43] Dirhams continued to flow into Eastern Europe, although somewhat erratically, from ca. 800 until the first quarter of the eleventh century.[44] During the period from ca. 905-970, the heyday of Islamic trade with Eastern Europe, hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dirhams struck in the Sāmānid mints of Central Asia were imported into Eastern Europe. A substantial portion of these dirhams were then re-exported to the lands around the Baltic. While a few dirhams were no doubt obtained as the result of raids, bribes, payments to mercenaries, and other non-commercial factors, the written sources leave no doubt that most dirhams were brought to Eastern Europe through trade.[45]

42 On the fulūs, see Thomas S. Noonan, "Medieval Islamic Copper Coins from European Russia and Surrounding Regions: The Use of the *Fals* in the Early Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974): 448-53.

43 Thomas S. Noonan, "When and How Dirhams First Reached Russia: A Numismatic Critique of the Pirenne Theory," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Sovietique* 21 (1980): 401–469; idem, "Why Dirhams First Reached Russia: The Role of Arab-Khazar Relations in the Development of the Earliest Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984): 151–282.

44 The influx of dirhams into Eastern Europe during this period is reviewed in Thomas S. Noonan, "Dirhams from Early Medieval Russia," *Journal of the Russian Numismatic Society* 17 (Winter 1984/85): 8- 12.

45 Among the many Islamic sources that discuss this trade, special note should be taken of Ibn Faḍlān, who described how Rus merchants arriving in the Volga-Bulgar lands prayed that (Islamic) merchants with many coins would buy all of their slaves and furs without haggling (James E. McKeithen, "The *Risalah* of Ibn Fadlan: An Annotated Translation with Introduction" [Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1979], 132-33). Gardīzī and Ibn Rusta also report that in the Volga-Bulgar lands the Rus and Saqlābs sold their pelts for dirhams brought from the Islamic lands (A. P. Martinez, "Gardīzī's Two Chapters of the Turks," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982): 158-59; Ibn Rusteh, *Les Atours Precieux,* trans. Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1955), p. 159.

It was this Islamic trade with the Rus', conducted across the Khazar and Volga-Bulgar lands, that provided the dirhams that ended up in and around Kiev. The major movement of dirhams in Eastern Europe, however, was toward the upper Volga lands, the Novgorod region, and the Baltic. In other words, dirhams gravitated from the Khazar and Volga-Bulgar lands to northern and central Rus' and westward into the lands around the Baltic Sea. Kiev thus lay to the side of the routes by which most dirhams circulated. It has been argued that there was a route leading from the Volga-Bulgar lands to Kiev in the pre-Mongol era. Islamic sources of the tenth century refer to a town of the Rus called Kuyabah which some identify as Kiev.[46] In the mid-twelfth century the Spanish traveller Abu Hāmid al-Garnātī reportedly went from the Volga-Bulgar lands to the city of *Kuiav* [the original has *Man-Karmăn* O.P.],[47] which some also identify as Kiev.[48] However, Korzukhina strongly challenged both these identifications.[49] Given this controversy, we must be cautious about assuming the existence of a direct Bulgar-Kiev route by which dirhams reached Kiev.

Elsewhere, I have argued that dirhams did not reach the Ukraine until the 820s.[50] My argument was based on the principle that dirham hoards are a far more reliable guide to the appearance of dirhams in a given region than are stray finds. All the stray finds of dirhams were coins that could be found in hoards (i.e., they came from dispersed hoards), whereas the appearance of more than a few incidental dirhams in an area would inevitably have produced hoards. I still maintain that hoards of dirhams are the key indicator for dating the circulation of dirhams in any region of Eastern Europe.

History has been very unkind to the dirham hoards found in Kiev itself. The earliest recorded hoard, from 1706, was dispersed while in St. Petersburg. It contained around 2,380 silver "Assyrian" coins, which scholars later believed were, in fact, dirhams.[51] The next hoard, chronologically, was also lost without a trace—there is no record of the contents of the jug full of

46 *Hudud al-'Alam, "The Regions of the World": A Persian Geography, 372 AH.-982 A.D.*, trans. and with commentary by V. Minorsky, 2d ed. (London, 1970), pp. 159, 434.

47 See O. Pritsak, "Eine altruische Bezeichrung fur Kiev," *Der Islam* 32 (1955): 1–13 [O.P.].

48 O. G. Bol'shakov and A. L. Mongait, *Puteshestvie Abu Khamida al-Garnati v vostochnuiu i tsentral'nuiu Evropu (1131–1153 gg.)* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 37; 74, fn. 104; 108-110.

49 G. F. Korzukhina, "Put' Abu Khamid al-Garnati iz Bulgara v Vengriiu," in *Problemy arkheologii*, vol. 2: *Sbornik statei v pamiat' professora M. I. Artamonova* (Leningrad, 1978), pp. 187–94.

50 Thomas S. Noonan, "When Did Dirhams First Reach the Ukraine?," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 1 (March 1978): 26-40.

51 Appendix A, no. 1.

"ancient" silver coins found in 1787, most, if not all, of which were probably dirhams.[52] A third hoard, containing some 200 Oriental copper coins, was deposited after the Mongol conquest, probably by Oriental troops or traders, so it tells us nothing about Kiev's monetary history in the pre-Mongol era.[53] Only a small part of the very large dirham hoard found in 1851 was identified; the bulk of the preserved dirhams were sent to the Hermitage, but have yet to be published in full.[54] The dirham hoard discovered in the Podil in 1863 has been published in some detail.[55] More characteristically, the large hoard of dirhams found in the Podil in 1889 has disappeared without a trace.[56] Finally, the large hoard uncovered in 1913 has not been fully published, although there is a general summary of its contents.[57] In sum, of the six hoards of dirhams unearthed in Kiev, only one has been thoroughly published; three have been lost completely, while the data available about the other two is incomplete. Thus, any effort to analyze the dirham hoards from Kiev relies on a seriously flawed data base. The evidence that we do have for the hoards dated to 905/06 (the 1851 hoard), 935/36 (the 1863 hoard), and 905/06 (the 1913 hoard) suggests that dirhams first reached Kiev in the early tenth century and that the influx had come to an end by the mid-tenth century. Or, to put it another way, the trade, taxes, and/or campaigns that brought these coins to Kiev were confined to the period ca. 900-950.

One test of this hypothesis is to examine dirham hoards found in greater Kiev. There are three pertinent hoards: (1) The huge 1912 Denysy hoard, containing over 5,300 dirhams and dirham fragments as well as 60 or so other coins, of which most that could be identified seem to have been published in full. Several dirhams in this hoard date to the first decade of the eleventh century and the hoard as a whole was probably deposited ca. 1020;[58] (2) The 1913-1914 hoard from Bondari, about which little information is available. It supposedly contained 420 dirhams, the most recent of which dated to 951/52;[59] (3) The 1916 hoard allegedly found near Khabrivka, which presents a real puzzle.[60] The most recent dirham in it dates to 945/46, whereas its most recent coin is a denier of 1018-1035 or possibly

52 Appendix A, no. 2.
53 Appendix A, no. 3.
54 Appendix A, no. 4.
55 Appendix A, no. 6.
56 Appendix A, no. 9.
57 Appendix A, no. 16.
58 Appendix A, no. 28.
59 Appendix A, no. 30.
60 Appendix A, no. 31.

another denier of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. In a normal hoard of ca. 1020-1035 containing dirhams, almost certainly a sizeable number of dirhams would have been struck after 950. The absence of such newer dirhams in the Khabrivka hoard suggests that either the newer dirhams were consciously removed or that the deniers originally constituted a separate find or finds and were mixed with the dirhams after they had been unearthed. There is good reason to argue, then, that the dirhams in the Khabrivka hoard were, in fact, deposited separately around 950, perhaps in the vicinity of Kiev.

The three dirham hoards from greater Kiev support our hypothesis that dirhams did not reach the Kiev region in any significant numbers until the early tenth century. The Bondari and Khabrivka hoards indicate that the importation of dirhams into this area did not continue after the mid-tenth century. The Denysy hoard would seem to indicate that dirhams struck between the mid-tenth and early eleventh centuries did reach the area, but since the Denysy hoard is so large, it may well represent the accumulated wealth of several decades rather than the circulation of dirhams in greater Kiev ca. 1020.

The most startling conclusion to emerge from our analysis of the available evidence is that dirhams did not reach Kiev in any quantity until the early tenth century. Contrary to the views of scholars like Kliuchevskii, who linked Kiev's emergence as a major town to its early trade with the Islamic world, there is no numismatic evidence for such a trade in the eighth or ninth centuries.[61] Kiev did not have any demonstrable ties to the influx of dirhams into Eastern Europe during the ninth century. Such ties only began in the early tenth century and they only lasted, with any regularity, for about half a century.

One striking feature of the dirham hoards from Kiev and vicinity is their very large size:

Kiev, 1706	2,380
Kiev, 1787	"jug full"
Kiev, 1851	2,000-3,000
Kiev, 1863	191
Kiev, 1889	"large"
Kiev, 1913	2,930
Denysy, 1912	5,400

[61] V. O. Kluchevsky, *A History of Russia*, vol. 1, trans. C. J. Hogarth (rpt., New York, 1960), pp. 52-53.

Bondari, 1913-1914	420
Khabrivka, 1916	106/129

Four of the seven hoards for which some estimate of size is available exceed 2,000 dirhams; also, if the clay pot found in 1851 contained several thousand dirhams, then the "jug full" of coins uncovered in 1787 may have been of similar size. The "large" 1889 hoard probably numbered at least 500 dirhams, if not more. Dirham hoards of a thousand or more coins are not unknown in Eastern Europe, but a fairly large number of smaller hoards, ca. 50-200 coins, were usually also found. Kiev and vicinity are thus marked by a high concentration of very large dirham hoards. One can argue that these hoards represent the accumulation of wealth in an emerging capital rather than groups of dirhams taken here and there to facilitate everyday trade. Kiev may thus have reaped the profits of the Islamic trade without having had a major role in it.

Using the above estimates for "jug full" and "large," and assuming that the 1706 and 1787 hoards did contain Islamic coins, we can project that the nine hoards from the Kiev region probably contained in the neighborhood of 17,000 dirhams. While this may not seem to be a huge sum, it represents more dirhams than were found in all the ninth century hoards from the entire Baltic. Large numbers of dirhams were thus imported into Kiev and its vicinity over a relatively short time, specifically ca. 12,000 dirhams between ca. 905 and 955, or some 240 per year on average. The equivalent of one fair-sized dirham hoard reached Kiev annually during the first-half of the tenth century.

Based on the above analysis, I should like to put forward the following hypothesis. Kiev's connection with the Islamic trade began only ca. 905, when the route by which dirhams reached Eastern Europe shifted from the Caspian/ Caucasus routes to a Central Asian route transversing the Volga-Bulgar lands. While most of the dirhams imported into the middle Volga were re-exported to central and northern Rus' or to the Baltic, for around a half century or possibly longer, a significant number were diverted to Kiev and vicinity. It is not clear whether these dirhams were the result of fairly brief but intensive trade with Volga Bulgaria, of tribute collected from East Slavic tribes in the form of silver dirhams, or of loot brought back from various campaigns. Probably all three factors were operative to some extent.

The first real influx of monetary wealth into Kiev and vicinity thus came during the first half of the tenth century, when at least 12,000 dirhams were imported into the area of Kiev. There is no monetary evidence for Kiev's ties with the Orient before 900, and the ties beginning then seem to have disappeared around 955, i.e., several decades before the silver crisis in the

Islamic world put a gradual end to the export of dirhams to Eastern Europe. The only evidence of new Islamic money coming to Kiev after 955 is in the huge Denysy hoard deposited ca. 1020, but that hoard cannot be considered conclusive evidence that dirhams reached the Kiev area after 955 with any regularity.

Byzantine Coins

In terms of Kiev's monetary history, Byzantine coins present a great contrast to Islamic dirhams. Byzantine coins made of copper/bronze, gold, and silver were all found in early Kiev, unlike their Islamic counterparts, which were almost all silver dirhams. While our data about some finds from Kiev and vicinity is incomplete, and the number of coins in some finds must be estimated, there are about 116 Byzantine coins from Kiev whose metal has been noted. Of these, 91 (or 78.4 percent) were copper or bronze, 21 (or 18.1 percent) were gold, and only 4 (or 3.4 percent) were silver. This pattern also prevails among the Byzantine finds from greater Kiev, where a total of around 35 coins has been found: of these, 21 (or 60 percent) were copper or bronze, 10 (or 28.6 percent) were gold, and only 4 (or 11.4 percent) were silver miliaresia. So Byzantine coins reaching Kiev were most likely to be the cheaper copper or bronze coins or, failing that, the far more expensive gold coins.

A second major difference between the Byzantine and Islamic coins from Kiev and vicinity concerns quantity. Whereas the nine dirham hoards from Kiev totaled around 17,000 dirhams, the thirty-four Byzantine finds from Kiev contained around 161 coins. Twenty-three finds from the greater Kiev region yielded 38 Byzantine coins. In other words, fifty-seven finds contain a total of only 200 or so Byzantine coins. Furthermore, among these fifty-seven there are only three definite hoards: a hoard containing at least nine copper coins was found in 1888;[62] fifteen solidi were part of a coin-treasure hoard discovered in 1899;[63] and a hoard of 37 copper coins was unearthed in 1908.[64] No confirmed hoards of Byzantine coins originated in greater Kiev. Compared with dirhams, only a minuscule number of Byzantine coins ever reached Kiev.

A third and final comparison of the Byzantine and Islamic coins has to do with the timespan during which they reached Kiev and vicinity. Islamic dirhams, we know, were brought to Kiev primarily during the first half of

62 Appendix B, no. 11.
63 Appendix B, no. 17.
64 Appendix B., no. 19.

the tenth century and only very rarely after that. The paucity of Byzantine hoards and the different dating system on the coins make it difficult to determine the time when Byzantine coins came to Kiev. However, the hoard of 37 copper coins from the Kyselivka can be dated to ca. 970.[65] Thus, at the very earliest Byzantine coins may have reached Kiev around the mid-tenth century. The stray finds of earlier Byzantine coins are not conclusive evidence that Byzantine coins first reached Kiev before the mid-tenth century, unless they can be clearly placed in a context which unquestionably dates from before 950.

Among the 200 Byzantine coins found in Kiev and vicinity are some definitely struck in the eleventh century.[66] These coins come from nine different find-spots. In addition, several Byzantine coins of the eleventh–twelfth, twelfth, or eleventh–thirteenth centuries were found at six sites in Kiev and vicinity.[67] Thus we know that some Byzantine coins were still reaching Kiev during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, long after the influx of dirhams into Eastern Europe had ceased.

From the preponderance of copper/bronze and gold issues among the Byzantine coins from the Kiev area, their very small number, and the long period of time over which they were brought there, it seems evident that Byzantine coins played no appreciable role in the economic or political history of Kiev. Unlike Islamic dirhams and West European deniers, which were imported into Eastern Europe in quantity to facilitate trade with Islam and the Baltic, Byzantine coins served no commercial function for Kiev, nor were there enough of them to use for tribute payments, bribes, etc. It seems, instead, that a small number of low-value copper and bronze coins and an even smaller number of highly valued gold coins were brought to Kiev and vicinity by travelers over the course of several centuries. Byzantine coins were thus essentially incidental souvenirs or momentos of Rus'-Byzantine and Rus'-Kherson relations rather than indicators of Kiev's relations with these regions.

The peripheral role of Byzantine coins in Kiev's monetary history raises certain questions about the famous Rus'-Byzantine trade. If this trade were as important as we have been led to believe, why are there so few Byzantine coins in Kiev, the Rus' center for this trade? Why would the contemporaneous Islamic trade generate so much coinage in Rus', while the Byzantine trade generated so little? Two answers can be offered. First, the Rus'-Byzantine trade may have been based on the barter of an equal value

65 Appendix B, no. 19.

66 Appendix B, nos. 2, 17, 24, 30, 35, 41, 44, 54, 55.

67 Appendix B, nos. 12, 23, 26, 32, 37, 43.

of goods and thus required no coinage to make up deficits on the Byzantine side (or Byzantium had no coins to make up such deficits). The number of Byzantine imports found at Rus' sites tends to support this answer. On the other hand, the extent of the fabled Rus'-Byzantine trade, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries, may be exaggerated. There is no compelling evidence for the existence of this trade in the ninth century. The so-called Rus'-Byzantine trade treaties and the report preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus may have led us to overestimate the volume of this trade in the tenth century. In any event, it seems clear that Byzantine coins had a very negligible place in the monetary and economic history of Kiev during the pre-Mongol era.

West European Coins

West European silver coins or deniers first began to appear with regularity in Eastern Europe during the last quarter of the tenth century, and they continued to reach the Rus' lands until the early twelfth century.[68] One recent estimate puts the number of deniers from Rus' hoards at just under 37,000.[69] Allowing for small and stray finds, we can estimate that there is information on some 40,000 deniers from Rus'. In other words, while imports of deniers to Rus' were far smaller than the import of dirhams, a very significant quantity of West European silver coins did reach the Rus' lands. Deniers had a key role in Rus' trade with the Baltic, just as dirhams did in its Islamic trade.

In his study of denier finds from Rus', V. M. Potin gave the following geographic breakdown:

Novgorod lands—45 hoards and 83 separate finds
Polotsk (Polatsk) lands—7 hoards and 5 separate finds
Smolensk lands—6 hoards and 16 separate finds
Rostov-Suzdal' lands—7 hoards and 44 separate finds
Riazan' lands—3 hoards and 4 separate finds
Halych lands—1 hoard and 2 separate finds
Volhynian lands—7 hoards and 2 separate finds
Kiev and Pereiaslav lands—5 hoards and 4 separate finds
Chernihiv lands—4 hoards and 4 separate finds

68 The most recent full study of these coins is by V. M. Potin, *Drevniaia Rus' i evropeiskie gosudarstva v X–XII vv.: Istoriko-numizmaticheskii ocherk* (Leningrad, 1968).

69 Bernd Kluge, "Das angelsachsische Element in den slawischen Münzfunden des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte einer Analyze," in *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands: The Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. M. Metcalf (Oxford, 1981), p. 281.

Middle Volga—1 hoard and 1 separate find
Azov steppe—1 coin.[70]

The list of hoards and finds does not necessarily correspond to the total number of coins: Potin, unfortunately, has not included these numbers with his data. Nevertheless, his figures give a fairly clear picture of denier circulation in pre-Mongol Rus'. The vast majority of deniers were deposited in the Novgorod lands, where they entered Rus', or in the surrounding Polotsk, Smolensk, and Rostov-Suzdal' lands. Relatively few deniers ever reached the southern Rus' lands or the non-Slavic territories beyond. While the reasons are beyond the scope of this study, it would appear that the cessation of dirham imports led the northwestern Rus' lands to hoard the silver coins reaching Rus' via the Baltic. The pressures to hoard scarce silver coins probably intensified as far fewer deniers reached Rus' in comparison with dirhams (also, the denier usually weighed much less than the dirham). Deniers were apparently important in Novgorod's Baltic trade, and Novgorod deliberately sought to keep as many of them as possible.

Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that so few deniers ever reached Kiev and vicinity. Of the five finds in Kiev, the two hoards containing German coins are reportedly spurious and should be discounted.[71] The Venetian coins date to the first part of the thirteenth century and are most probably linked with Kiev's Black Sea commerce.[72] We are left with three authentic and relevant finds, containing a total of 7 deniers, from Kiev itself. Surprisingly, many more deniers have been uncovered in greater Kiev, in two eleventh-century denier hoards—one from Cherkasy, south of Kiev along the Dnieper,[73] and one from the Oster area, northeast of Kiev.[74] Unfortunately, little information is available about either hoard: we do not know how large they are or when they were deposited. We should also consider the 41 deniers found with the Denysy hoard,[75] and perhaps the 23 deniers allegedly part of the Khabrivka hoard.[76]

In assessing Kiev's monetary history, one is tempted to place deniers in the same category as Byzantine coins. One major difference must be recognized, however. The denier played a very real role in the trade of northern Rus'. The reason so few deniers reached Kiev is precisely that the denier was highly valued in the Novgorod lands. By contrast, Byzantine coins

70 Potin, *Drevniaia Rus'*, p. 47.
71 Appendix C, no. 2.
72 Appendix C, no. 3.
73 Appendix C, no. 6.
74 Appendix C, no. 7.
75 Appendix C, no. 10.
76 Appendix C, no. 11.

were a negligible factor in trade anywhere in Rus': the copper coins had very little value, whereas the gold coins were both too few and too valuable to be of use in commerce. The few miliaresia to reach Rus' made no real difference.

As already mentioned, large numbers of silver ingots have been found throughout the Rus' lands, particularly in Kiev; many were also cast there. The ingots found in and around Kiev alone are the equivalent of tens of thousands of dirhams or deniers. Many, if not most, of these Kiev-type ingots were deposited between the 1170s and 1240, giving us a probable date when most were cast. At that time, neither dirhams nor deniers were being imported into Rus'. Where, then, did the silver for these monetary ingots come from? The extreme paucity of deniers in Kiev and the slightly larger numbers found in greater Kiev may well mean that most deniers to reach Kiev were melted down to make ingots or jewelry. Certainly, anyone looking for silver to refashion into ingots during the century before the Mongol conquest would have used deniers for raw material. Dirhams, miliaresia, and solidi were probably similarly endangered, but deniers were more vulnerable because they were far more recent imports than dirhams and because there were far more of them than of miliaresia and solidi.

While few deniers have surfaced in Kiev, a variety of written sources have documented Kiev's lively overland trade with southern Germany in the pre-Mongol era. Why did this trade not bring to Kiev more Czech, Hungarian, and especially German deniers? The best explanation seems to be that this overland trade functioned on the basis of a balanced barter of goods and thus did not require coinage.[77] Coinage is not requisite for trade, as the many barter arrangements in Eastern Europe in our own time demonstrate.

Rus' Coins

During the late tenth and early eleventh centuries (989-1019), several Rus' princes (Volodimer, Sviatopolk, and Iaroslav) struck their own coins, usually referred to as either *sribnyky* (silver coins) or *zolotnyky* (gold coins). Recently Sotnikova and Spasskii studied all the 341 examples of these coins known today. Of these 341 coins, eleven were gold and 330 were silver. All the zolotnyky as well as the sribnyky of Volodimer and Sviatopolk were struck in Kiev.[78] The sribnyky of Volodimer (245) and Sviatopolk (68)

[77] Potin, *Drevniaia Rus'*, pp. 48–52.
[78] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Russian Coins*, p. 7.

totaled 313 coins.[79] In other words, 324 or about 95 percent of the known Rus' coins of this era were struck in Kiev, and of these coins, over 96 percent were sribnyky.

The Rus' princes of Kiev selected a very inauspicious time to begin striking coins. Starting ca. 970, the export of dirhams into Eastern Europe began to decline sharply, while the influx of deniers had just begun. Thus, even if the Kiev princes had had access to the available dirhams and deniers—which seems highly problematic considering the finds from Kiev and vicinity during the period 989–1019—they would have been hard pressed to obtain sufficient foreign silver coins to melt down for their sribnyky.[80] The shortage of silver in the southern Rus' lands at this time explains one characteristic of the sribnyky. Nine zolotnyky tested for metal composition turned out to be real gold coins of fairly high quality, but of 183 Kievan sribnyky examined, 127 or almost 70 percent had no silver at all—they were in fact copper coins. Another 34 sribnyky, or almost 19 percent, were billon coins of low-quality silver.[81] The decline of dirham imports combined with the hoarding of deniers in northern and central Russia forced the Kiev princes to strike copper coins or coins made of highly adulterated silver in lieu of high quality silver coin.

The small quantity of sribnyky, most of which had little monetary value, cannot have served any commercial purpose. Since these coins appeared shortly after the conversion of Rus', it seems highly likely that the first Christian princes of Kiev sought to make some kind of political statement by striking their own coins, which was considered one of the attributes of sovereignty. Their coins were a visible demonstration of their independence as rulers.

The few coins struck by the earliest Christian princes of Kiev played no real role, then, in the monetary history of the city. In fact, they were quite probably never intended to have an economic function. Rather, these copper and billon coins were designed to magnify the prestige of the princes of Kiev who struck them.

Silver Ingots

The attempt to use coinage as a political instrument quickly floundered because it clashed with basic economic reality, i.e., the scarcity of gold and silver. A prosperous economy that needed silver would have been able to

79 Sotnikova and Spasski, *Russian Coins, p.* 137

80 Sotnikova and Spasski, *Russian Coins,* p. 137, where it is argued that the raw material for Rus' silver coins of the period 988 - 1019 could only have been foreign silver coins.

81 Sotnikova and Spasski, *Russian Coins,* p. 139.

find it. This is evident in a study of the silver ingots of the so-called Kiev type. Ingots of precious metal were already present in Eastern Europe by the ninth century. For instance, the Uglich hoard of 1879 from the upper Volga contained 205 whole dirhams, the most recent of which dated to 829/30, plus 909 dirham fragments and five silver bars which weighed, respectively, 149g, 114.6g, 111.6g, 96.5g, and 63.1g.[82] The 1867 Iagoshury hoard from the former Viatka gubernia comprised about 1,500 dirhams, the most recent of which dated to 842/43, and a silver bar weighing 76.8g.[83] Silver ingots were also found in several tenth-century coin-treasure hoards. The Kopiïvka hoard, deposited in Vinnytsia oblast' of the Ukraine, contained, among other things, 500 dirhams, the most recent of which dated to 954/55, and two silver ingots shaped like sticks.[84] The 1907 Tatarskii Tolkish hoard from the former Kazan' gubernia consisted of 957 dirhams dating between 875 and 984/85, as well as two round silver ingots weighing 94.6g and 88.4g.[85] The 1883 hoard from Borshchivka in Volhynia gubernia, which dates to the second half of the tenth century, contained 42 silver ingots weighing from 25g to 108g.[86] Finally, silver ingots of various shapes were found in a number of eleventh-century hoards. The 1920 Staraia Ladoga hoard, deposited ca. 1010, contained two long silver ingots (118.6g. and 101.6g).[87] The 1912 Denysy hoard, deposited ca. 1020, included a long silver ingot that weighed either 117.9g or 139g.[88] The 1902 hoard from Veliko-Seletskoe, deposited ca. 1025, had a long silver ingot weighing 245.9g.[89] The 1898 Strazhevichi hoard, deposited ca. 1040, contained four long silver ingots of unknown weight.[90] The 1903 hoard from Strazhevichi, deposited ca. 1045, included two long silver ingots weighing 201.7g and 101.6g, a gold ingot of 78.8g, and four round silver ingots of 37.2g, 19.5g, 12.2g, and 10.1g.[91] The 1903 Veliko-Seletskoe hoard,

82 Thomas S. Noonan, "Ninth-Century Dirham Hoards from European Russia: A Preliminary Analysis," in *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands,* p. 94, no. 32; N. Bauer, "Die Silber- und Goldbarren des russischen Mittelalters: Eine archaologische Studie," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 62 (1929): 81, no. 2.

83 Noonan, "Ninth-Century Dirham Hoards," pp. 99-101, no. 40; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 81, no. 3.

84 Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 84, no. 16.

85 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 94, no. 26; V. V. Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh monet v Vostochnoi Evrope," *Numizmatika epigrafika* 9 (1971): 88, no. 122.

86 Bauer, "Die Silber-," pp. 85-86, no. 16; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 85, no. 17.

87 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 82, no. 5; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 102, no. 60.

88 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 82, no. 6; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 85, no. 18.

89 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 84, no. 7.

90 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 84, no. 8; Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 95-96, no. 45.

91 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 84, no. 9; p. 90, no. 8; p. 92, no. 24. Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 96-97, no. 46.

deposited around the mid-eleventh century, had two long silver ingots weighing 198.2g and 194.1g.[92] The 1910 hoard from Polotsk, deposited ca. 1060, included four long silver ingots weighing 190.8g, 173.8g, 24.4g, and ? as well as three pieces of round silver ingots.[93] The 1882 Biliarsk hoard had one long silver ingot of 55.5g and 17 round silver ingots weighing a total of 426g.[94] The 1897 Orlovka hoard contained a long silver ingot of 43.7g in addition to 234 whole and 4 fragments of round silver ingots that weighed a total of 21.7kg.[95] And the 1885 hoard from Buzhisk had five long silver ingots weighing 184g, 130.8g, 97.5g, 93.7g, and 76.8g.[96] Thus, the circulation of tangible wealth in the form of silver and gold ingots had a long history in Rus'. These ingots, like the many blank silver flans, had a real monetary value, although it was not authenticated by kufic inscriptions or western legends and pictures.

By the twelfth century, however, new circumstances altered the place of the silver ingot in the monetary and economic history of Rus'. It was no longer one of several forms of tangible, metallic wealth. The influx of dirhams into Rus' had ceased by 1025 or so, and the import of deniers came to an end during the early twelfth century From this time on, no appreciable quantity of silver coins was imported into pre-Mongol Rus'. This is often considered the onset of the coinless period in medieval Rus' history. In fact, what seems to have happened is that the scarcity of silver put an end to the circulation of small quantities of the metal, i.e., silver coins. Silver had become too valuable to be used for small transactions. Instead, silver was melted down and cast in the form of heavier ingots, designed for major transactions. The term "coinless period" is thus somewhat misleading. Silver ingots became, in effect, very big and highly valuable coins.

The ingots struck in growing quantities from the eleventh century on had various shapes. Those with a hexagonal shape have traditionally been called ingots of the Kiev type. As Spasskii remarks, "The name of the 'Kievan ingots' is very likely associated with their main place of manufacture, yet variations in shape . . . enable us to suppose that their casting could have taken place at other centers in Southern Russia."[97] Furthermore, the circulation of the hexagonal, Kiev-type ingots is associated particularly

92 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 84, no. 10; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 93, no. 38.

93 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 84, no. 11, and p. 92, no. 25; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 97, no. 48.

94 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 85, no. 14, and p. 94, no. 28.

95 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 85, no. 15, and p. 94, no. 27.

96 Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 86, no. 17; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 95, no. 43.

97 I. G. Spassky, *The Russian Monetary System*, trans. Z. I. Gorishina, rev. ed. (Amsterdam, 1967), p. 66; see Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 175, fig. 85, for illustrations of ingots of the Kiev type.

with the pre-Mongol era, when they enjoyed wide circulation.[98]

As usual, the accounts of the finds of silver ingots in Kiev and elsewhere are at times incomplete, vague, or contradictory. Therefore, any estimate of the total number of finds and their weight can only be an approximation. We have no way of knowing, for instance, precisely how many ingots were part of the "hoard" of ingots found along the Khreshchatyk in 1888." By making educated guesses, and after examining the data in appendix D, it appears that about 229 silver ingots of the Kiev type were found in Kiev. In addition, three gold ingots, one piece of a gold ingot, three ingots of the Novgorod type, three ingots of another type, and four electrum ingots of the Kiev type were found in Kiev. Specialists on pre-Mongol Kiev estimate that 270 gold and silver ingots weighing over 45kg have been found in the city,[100] so our estimate of 243 ingots in total is probably too conservative. Silver ingots of the Kiev type most probably number 255.

While the weight of the ingots of the Kiev type varied, 155g is a fair average. We can estimate, then, that Kiev's 255 ingots weighed around 39,525g. To this figure we can add **514g** for the Novgorod ingots[101] and perhaps 300g of silver for the electrum ingots.[102] Two of the gold ingots weighed 236g.[103] No weight is given for the gold ingot in one find.[104] The gold in another weighed 20g.[105] We can estimate the total gold at around 400g. Assuming that gold had a value 15 times that of silver, the gold ingots and pieces equal around 6,000g of silver. Adding all this up, we obtain a figure of just over 46,000g of silver or, to round off to a convenient figure, 50,000g of silver from the ingots found in Kiev.

The theoretical weight of a dirham was 2.97g. However, most tenth- and eleventh-century hoards in Eastern Europe contained numerous dirham fragments. The Denysy hoard of ca. 1020, for example, contained 402 whole dirhams and 4,293 dirham fragments.[106] Some of the dirham fragments found in hoards were very small, e.g., .5g. Thus, 50,000g of silver would equal around 17,000 whole dirhams. Using an average figure of 1.75g to take fragments into account, we arrive at the figure of almost 29,000 coins. However, as V. L. **Ianin** has noted, many dirhams of the

98 Spassky, *Monetary System,* p. 65; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 101, dates the hexagonal ingots of the Kiev type to the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries.
99 Appendix D, no. 16.
100 *Novoe* v ***arkheologii***, p. 367.
101 Appendix D, no. 29.
102 Appendix D, no. 34.
103 Appendix D, no. 21.
104 Appendix D, no. 27.
105 Appendix D, no. 23.
106 Appendix A, no. 28.

tenth century were trimmed to a standard weight of ca. 1g.[107] Using 1g as a norm, 50,000g of silver ingots would equal around 50,000 dirhams. The gold and silver ingots found in Kiev were thus the equivalent of between 17,000 and 50,000 dirhams.

Appendix D shows 337 normal silver ingots of the Kiev type found outside of Kiev. To facilitate an estimate, this figure can be rounded off to 350 and multiplied by 155g, yielding the sum of 54,250g. To this we should add 41 heavy ingots of the Kiev type weighing around 200g each, or 8,200g. In addition, several unidentified ingots or ingots of the Chernihiv and Novgorod types were found in the vicinity of Kiev. These ingots add another 5,618g to our figures. Finally, we can estimate 365g in gold ingots from the vicinity of Kiev, the equvalent of 5,475g of silver. Totaling this, we find 73,543g, rounded off to about 80,000g, of silver deposited in greater Kiev or made in the form of Kiev-type ingots but buried outside of Kiev. Since some silver ingots of the Kiev type may have been made outside of Kiev, we can estimate that around 65,000g are attributable to Kiev. In other words, the silver value found in greater Kiev is roughly 15,000g more than the value found inside Kiev. Taken together, the two values represent between 39,000 and 115,000 dirhams. In terms of deniers, with an average weight of ca. lg each,[108] Kiev's monetary wealth as expressed in ingots equaled 115,000 coins.

If we consider the monetary value of all the ingots associated with Kiev, that is, ca. 39,000 to 115,000 dirhams, the total is highly significant. Over the course of two centuries, only 17,000 to 20,000 dirhams were imported into Kiev and vicinity. By way of contrast, some two to six times more silver reached Kiev in ingot form during the century and a half before the Mongol invasion. When this ingot value is expressed in terms of deniers—it equals ca. 115,000 deniers—the figure is even more striking. As we noted earlier, a recent estimate put the total number of deniers from Rus' hoards at around 40,000.[109] The silver value of the ingots found in Kiev alone exceeded the silver value of all deniers imported into Rus' between ca. 975 and 1125. Furthermore, the aggregate ingot wealth connected with Kiev and vicinity exceeds the number of deniers imported into Rus' by a factor of almost three. In other words, given the post-1000 A.D. circumstances, the monetary wealth of Kiev represented by ingots was truly massive.

107 V. L. Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy russkogo srednevekov'ia: Domongol'skii period* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 146-47.
108 Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy*, pp. 146, 159.
109 See above, p. 399.

The great monetary wealth of Kiev from ca. 1100 to 1240 raises several important questions. Not all can be explored here, but two important issues can be broached. First, how do we explain the huge concentration of monetary wealth connected with Kiev in the century and a half before the Mongol conquest? Did Kiev at this time import silver to balance its domestic and international trade? Or was the accumulation of monetary wealth the product of Kiev's political and religious position, i.e., was this wealth produced by taxes, loot, gifts, the revenue from estates, contributions, and other sources not connected with Kiev's trade? Were precious metals imported into Kiev to satisfy the demands of the city's jewelers and their rich patrons?

Second, what was the source of the silver used to cast hundreds of ingots? One is tempted to speculate that the paucity of deniers from Kiev and a smaller number of dirhams than might be expected is explained by the melting down of these coins to provide the raw material for ingots. In addition, the casting of large numbers of silver ingots in Kiev and other southern centers might represent, in part, an influx of new silver obtained from the Novgorod lands, silver which Novgorod had originally obtained from the Baltic in the form of ingots.[110] This alternative brings us back to the trade issue, and suggests that Novgorod and the north of Rus' might have had to balance their trade with Kiev by the payment of silver ingots. Specifically, silver and furs from northern Rus' may well have paid for imports of Kiev's manufactured goods and Black Sea wine shipped via Kiev.

These and related questions indicate that the monetary history of Kiev in the century and a half before the Mongol conquest was complex indeed. Kiev at this time was a very wealthy city with an active external trade, a dynamic domestic economy, and considerable political and ecclesiastical power. Kiev's monetary wealth reflects this period of prosperity, if only imperfectly.

Conclusion

The analysis here of the five types of monetary wealth found in pre-Mongol Kiev indicates that three types of metallic wealth—Byzantine coins, West European deniers, and Rus' coins—had only a negligible role. These coins can thus be discounted in the examination of Kiev's monetary history. Consequently, the real question is, what do the hoards of dirhams and finds of ingots tell us about this history?

[110] Potin, *Drevniaia Rus'*, pp. 83-92.

Among monetary historians there are several approaches to the depositing of hoards of coins and metal ingots as well as large numbers of separate finds. Perhaps the best known approach views such hoards as a product of active trade: lacking anything like banks, merchants and others connected with trade supposedly buried their working capital and/or profits for safekeeping. An alternative approach sees hoarding as the consequence of disturbed conditions: during troubled times people allegedly hid their wealth in the ground. Finally, a quite different approach holds that hoarding was a sign of a backward or less developed economy. In regions with a highly developed economy, metallic wealth ostensibly circulated; it was buried only in those areas where it could not be employed profitably.

I do not believe any one approach is valid for all parts of western Eurasia at all times during the medieval era. In fact, all three approaches can illuminate aspects of Kiev's monetary history in the pre-Mongol era. Written evidence as well as a constantly growing accumulation of archaeological data leave no doubt that Kiev had a very active foreign and domestic trade during the century and a half before the Mongol conquest.[111] The massive amount of silver expressed in ingots, the vast majority of which were cast during the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century, is unquestionably connected with that trade. However, Kiev's craftsmen also required silver for their uses, and the city's secular and ecclesiastical rulers sought after tangible, worldly wealth. Thus, the monetary wealth unearthed in Kiev and vicinity is far more than an indicator of the city's lively commerce.

At the same time, the large number of rich treasure hoards as well as ingots deposited in Kiev between the 1170s and 1240 clearly reflects the impact of the Mongol conquest. Were it not for the Mongols, much of this tangible wealth would have been buried at another time and/or place. But there would have been no concentration of great wealth in Kiev to hide from Batu's forces if Kiev had not been a major political, economic, and religious center.

Finally, it is striking that Kiev's craft production experienced its "takeoff" during the eleventh century.[112] The amount of metallic, silver wealth

[111] This commerce was discussed in my paper "The Flourishing of Kiev's International and Domestic Trade, ca. 1100–1240," presented at the Third Conference on the Ukrainian Economy, October 1985; the conference papers are being published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University.

[112] The development of Kiev's craft production during the eleventh century was discussed in my paper on "The Transformation of Kiev into a Major European Commercial and Industrial Center During the Pre-Mongol Era," presented at the convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November 1986.

available in Kiev and vicinity thus declined sharply at the very time when Kiev's crafts were growing in number and their production was expanding rapidly. Kiev might not have required large quantities of silver for its domestic crafts, at least not in the eleventh century. Or, what is more likely, much if not most of the silver reaching Kiev remained in circulation, so that a large part was eventually reexported elsewhere or was melted down. In Kiev's developed economy, silver was often invested and/or put to good use rather than buried. This would explain, for instance, why more ingots of the Kiev type were deposited outside of Kiev than in the city itself. Nevertheless, it is no coincidence that very large quantities of silver reached Kiev and vicinity during the very period when the city's crafts were prospering and its commerce was thriving.

In sum, then, all three interpretations of hoarding contribute to an understanding of Kiev's monetary history in the pre-Mongol era, although none in itself is sufficient to explain it adequately.

The hoards of dirhams and ingots found in and around Kiev reflect the city's central political and religious position, its growing craft production, and its extensive commerce. It would appear that the initial growth in Kiev's political position as well as its internal economy took place between ca. 900 and 955, when a large number of dirhams were imported to the city. Although we do not know for certain how these dirhams were obtained, we can guess that they were probably imported initially into Volga Bulgaria. Given Kiev's active Byzantine trade at this time and the strong Bulgar ties of the Rūs merchants of the upper Volga, trade between Kiev and the Volga-Bulgars is not a fully satisfactory explanation. In any event, the import of dirhams was clearly a reflection of Kiev's emergence as a major center.

The ingots, by way of comparison, reflect Kiev's pre-Mongol economy and society in its mature stage. The rulers of the city and other nearby areas constituted a large market for expensive jewelry and other luxury products. Concurrently, these same rulers had a variety of obligations elsewhere. As a result, huge quantities of scarce silver were imported into the city while large amounts of silver were also sent elsewhere. Some of this silver could have been acquired through trade with the northern and central Rus' lands, while some silver may also have been exported to other areas for commercial purposes. In any event, the large quantities of silver which circulated in Kiev at this time reflect the city's great prosperity, active economy, and extensive political and religious power.

University of Minnesota

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDIXES

Bauer, "Die Silber-" = N. Bauer, "Die Silber- und Goldbarren des russischen Mittelalters: Eine archaologische Studie," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 62 (1929): 77–120.

Bauer, "Die Silber-" 1931 = N. Bauer, "Die Silber- und Goldbarren des russischen Mittelalters: Eine archaologische Studie," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 64 (1931): 61–100.

Il'in, *Topografiia* = A. A. Il'in, *Topografiia kladov serebrianykh i zolotykh slitkov* [Trudy Numizmaticheskoi komissii 1] (Petersburg, 1921).

Karger, *Kiev* = M. K. Karger, *Drevnii Kiev: Ocherki poistorii material'noi kul'tury drevnerusskogo goroda*, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958).

Korzukhina, *Klady* = G. F. Korzukhina, *Russkie klady IX–XIIIvv*. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1954).

Kotlar, "Obrot" = N. F. Kotlar (M. F. Kotliar), "Obrot arabskich dirhemów na terytorium Ukrainy," *Wiadomosci Numizmatyczne* 14 (1970): 19-29.

Kotliar, *Hroshovyi obih* = M. F. Kotliar, *Hroshovyi obih na terytorii Ukrainy doby feodalizmu* (Kiev, 1971).

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh* = V. V. Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh monet na territorii SSSR* [Arkheologiia SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov, E4-4] (Moscow, 1962).

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh" = V. V. Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh monet na territorii SSSR," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 26 (1965): 166-89.

Kropotkin, "Sasanidskikh" = V. V. Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh monet v Vostochnoi Evrope," *Numizmatika i epigrafika 9* (1971): 76-97.

Markov, *Topografiia* = A. K. Markov, comp., *Topografiia kladov vostochnykh monet (sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh)* (St. Petersburg, 1910).

Motsia, "Monety" = O. P. Motsia, "Monety z davn'orus'kykh pokhovan' Seredn'oho Podniprov'ia," *Arkheolohiia* 45 (1984): 75-80.

Novoe v *arkheologii* = *Novoe v arkheologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981).

Potin, "Topografiia" = V. M. Potin, "Topografiia nakhodok zapadnoevropeiskikh monet X–XIII vv. na territorii drevnei Rusi," *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha 9* (1967): 106-188.

Sotnikova and Spasski, *Tysiacheletie* = M. P. Sotnikova and I. G. Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii: Svodnyi katalog russkikh monet X-Xl vekov* (Leningrad, 1983). [There is also an English translation: M. P. Sotnikova and I. G. Spasski, *Russian Coins of the X-Xl Centuries A.D.: Recent Research and a Corpus in Commemoration of the Millenary of the Earliest Russian Coinage*, trans. H. B. Wells (BAR International Series 136) (Oxford, 1982)].

Sotnikova and Spasskii, "Russkie klady," = M. P. Sotnikova and I. G. Spasskii, "Russkie klady slitkov i monet v Ermitazhe," in *Russkaia numizmatika XI–XX vekov: Materialy i issledovaniia* (Leningrad, 1979), 48-167.

Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev* = P. P. Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev* (Kiev, 1983).

Tolochko, "Topohrafiia" = P. P. Tolochko, "Topohrafiia skarbiv monetnykh hryven u Kyievi," *Arkheolohiia* 20 (1966): 123-34.

APPENDIX A: Finds of Islamic Coins from Kiev and Surrounding Areas

1. *Kiev. 1706. A* hoard of some 2,380 silver coins was found during the construction of a new Pechers'k fortress. Hetman Mazepa sent the coins in a sack to St. Petersburg, where they were registered, as Assyrian coins, in the records of the Malorossiiskii prikaz. After 1715, no more information about these coins is recorded. The coins were later transfered to the Academy of Sciences, where they reportedly served as the basis for the Numismatic Cabinet of the Asiatic Museum. The hoard seems to have been dispersed in the Asiatic Museum, and no detailed record of its contents has been preserved. P. S. Savel'ev believed that these coins were Islamic dirhams.

   Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 116–17; Markov, *Topografiia,* pp. 13-14, no. 73; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 1.

2. *Kiev. 1787.* In May 1787, students from the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy found a jug full of "ancient" silver coins and treasure on the slopes of Mykhailova hora along the Khreshchatyk. The hoard was dispersed completely and no detailed record of its contents exists. Korzukhina believed the coins could have been Islamic and Byzantine.

   Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 90, no. 29.

3. *Kiev. 1845.* A hoard of around 200 Oriental copper coins from various dynasties was found in a clay pot near the St. Cyril Monastery. The oldest coin was an 'Abbasid fals struck in Bukhara in 765/66 under al-Mansūr while the most recent was a Chaghatayid fals struck in Bukhara in 1253/54 under Mengü Khan. Since this hoard was deposited some 250 years after dirham imports into Eastern Europe ceased, it most likely forms part of the monetary history of Kiev in the early Mongol era, i.e., it was probably brought to Kiev by a Mongol who had gathered coins in Central Asia.

   Thomas S. Noonan, "Medieval Islamic Copper Coins from European Russia and Surrounding Regions: The Use of the *Fals* in Early Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974): 448-49; Karger, *Kiev,* p. 118; Markov, *Topografiia,* p. 13, no. 72; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 2.

4. *Kiev. 1851.* A coin-treasure hoard in a clay pot was found on a hill near the Pustynno-Mykils'kyi Monastery, not far from the Dnieper, on May 30, while digging for a new fortress was underway. The monetary part of the hoard apparently consisted of perhaps 2,000-3,000 dirhams, most of which were dispersed and disappeared without a trace. However, small parts of the hoard obtained by various museums and private collectors were identified, thus providing some idea of the original composition of the hoard. Unfortunately, those dirhams that were preserved have not been identified in detail.

   A. Dirhams Obtained by P. S. Savel'ev (60 or 61)
      I. *'Abbāsid* (9)
         4 Madīnat al-Salām, 770/71, 776/77, 800/01, 877/78 or 887/88
         1 al-Muḥammidiyyah, 775/76 (?)
         1 al-'Abbāsiyyah, 778/79

1 Māh al-Kūfah, 861/62
1 Bardhaah, 890/91
1 Mint and date indeterminable
II. *Tahirid* (5)
2 al-Shash, 862/63, 863/64
1 Marw, 865/66
2 Samarqand, 865/66, 878/79 or 981/92
III. *Samanid* (presumably 46 or 47)
? al-Shāsh, 893/94, 895/96, 896/97, 897/98, 899/900-905/06
? Samarqand, 897/98, 899/900, 900, 900/01, 902/03-905/06
1 Balkh, 905/06

B. Dirhams donated by I. I. Funduklei to the St. Petersburg Archaeological Society (25)
I. *'Abbāsid* (8)
3 Madīnat al-Salām, 776/77, 804/05, 877/78
1 al-'Abbāsiyyah, 778/79
1 Samarqand, 812/13
1 Naysabur, 882/83
1 Māh al-Kūfah, 861/62
1 Bardhaah, 890/91
II. *Sāmānid* (13)
4? Samarqand, 897/98, 899/900, 900/01, 903/04
3? al-Shash, 897/98, 899/900, 903/04
1? Balkh, 905/06
1 Andarābah, 905/06
1 Mint and date indeterminable
III. *Tāhirid* (1)
1 Marw, 865/66
IV. *Imitations* (3)
3 Samanid prototype

C. Dirhams donated by I. I. Funduklei to the Coin Cabinet of Kiev University (25)
? I. *'Abbasid*
? II. *Samanid*
? III. *Umayyad* (?)

D. Dirhams donated by S. P. Kryzhanovskii to the Russian Archaeological Society (5)
I. *Samanid* (5)
5 al-Shash and Samarqand, 905/06

E. Acquired by the Dorpat/Tartu Museum (1)
I. *Samanid* (1)
1 al-Shāsh, 904/05

F. In the Iuzefovich Collection (1)
I. *Samanid* (1)
1 Andarābah, 905/06

G. Obtained by the Hermitage (401)
I. *Umayyad* (1)
• 1 Mint indeterminable, 746/47
II. *'Abbāsid* (11)
III. *Tdhirid* (?)
IV. *Samanid* (?)

Aside from the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Tahirid dirhams, there were "many

other" coins in this group. Presumably, most of these coins were Samanid.

Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 118-20; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 83, no. 12; Markov, *Topografiia,* p. 13, no. 68, and p. 14, no. 74; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 3.

5. *Kiev. 1854.* During the planning of a square in the old city (now Ploshcha Heroiv Perekopu), five coins from various times were found. One of these was apparently a Samanid dirham.

Karger, *Kiev,* p. 120; Markov, *Topografiia,* p. 14, no. 75; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* pp. 164-65, no. 4.

6. *Kiev. 1863.* A coin-treasure hoard in a clay pot was found in the Podil section of the city on October 27, during the digging of a grave in the Iordan (St. Demeter) Church. The monetary part of the hoard consisted of 191 or 192 dirhams dating between 892/93 and 935/36. Eight or nine of the dirhams were pierced and two had tabs. One dirham was sent to the Hermitage and the rest were preserved in the Coin Cabinet of Kiev University. After the 1917 revolution, the latter were transferred to the Kiev Historical Museum.

I. ***Samanid*** (178)*

82 al-Shāsh, 895/96, 898/99-900, 901/02-908/09, 910/11–912/13, 914/15, 920/21 -924/25, 927/28-933, 934/35, 935/36, indeterminable years

76 Samarqand, 898/99, 900, 905/06-909/10, 911/12, 913/14-916/17, 918/19–930/31, 932/33, 933/34–935/36

3 Naysabur, 986/87, 922/23-931/32, year indeterminable

4 Balkh, 904/05, 914/15, 927/28, 928/29 (?)

7 Andarabah, 910/11, 904/05 and 915/16 (?), 916/17, 917/18, 920/21

1 Pendjikhir(?), 911/12 [This appears to be a misreading of the mint name by Markov.]

1 Marw, 913/14

II. *Tāhirid* (1)

1 Faris, 905/06

III. *Imitations (\2)*

12 Samanid prototype of dirhams of Nasr ibn Ahmad struck in Samarqand.

There has been no full publication of this hoard. The above **list** is based primarily upon Markov's account. The difference in the figures for the total number of coins may lie in the dirham of 911/12 sent to the Hermitage. The dirham attributed to 986/87 is apparently intrusive or a misreading.

Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 120-21; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 84, no. 14, says 192 coins total and dates the most recent to 935/36; Markov, *Topografiia,* p. 12, no. 67, says 191 coins total and dates the most recent to 986/87; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 5.

7. *Kiev. 1879.* On the former lands of Marr in the Podil section of the city (now 55-59 Frunze Street) was found an ʿAbbāsid dirham struck in al-Kūfah, 759/60, with a tab attached. The coin was part of a necklace from a grave. The accounts of Karger and Kotliar also report that an Abbasid dirham struck in al-Kūfah in 759/60 was found in Kiev during 1876 in grave 125 located on the former lands of Marr. It is not clear if this is the same coin.

* Markov says 178 but only lists 174.

Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 121, 210; Kotlar, "Obrot," p. 21, fn. 12, no. 2-3; Kotliar, *Hroshovyi obih*, pp. 40-41, fn. 22, no. 2-3; Markov, ***Topografiia***, p. 13, no. 69; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 6.

8. *Kiev. 1885.* A dirham was found beyond the Vozdvyzhens'ka Church on Zamkova Hill.

   Karger, *Kiev,* p. 121; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 7.

9. *Kiev. 1889.* A large hoard of dirhams was found while digging near a bath in the Podil. Most of the coins disappeared without a trace; a few were acquired by D. N. Chudovskii.

   Karger, *Kiev,* p. 121; Markov, *Topografiia,* p. 13, no. 71; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 8.

10. *Kiev. 1899.* On August 28, a gold coin-treasure hoard in a red clay amphora was found while digging in the yard of L. I. Brodskii along Kateryns'ka Street. Of the 20 gold coins in the hoard, 16 were preserved: 15 Byzantine solidi and one dinar struck by Yahya I, the Hammūdid ruler of Malaga in Spain, during 1033/34. The most recent solidus dated to 1057-1059. Two gold ingots also formed part of this hoard.

    Korzukhina, ***Klady***, pp. 90-91, no. 30; Kotliar, *Hroshovyi obih,* pp. 43-44, fn. 42, no. 103; Markov, *Topografiia,* p. 138, no. 11.

11. *Kiev. 1900.* Dirhams were found in grave 108 uncovered during construction work in the former Furman yard at the corner of Reitars'ka and Malo-Volodymyrs'ka (now Chkalova) streets. Six dirhams were preserved: one was struck in al-Shash, 900; four were struck under the Samanid Amīr Nasr ibn Ahmad, 914-943, one in Samarqand, 919; one was a barbarian imitation. The finders claimed that there were originally some 40 coins in the grave, most of which disappeared.

    Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 169-72, no. 108; Motsia, "Monety," p. 78, no. IV.

12. *Kiev. 1908.* Two dirhams were supposedly found in grave 109 located within an excavated wooden dwelling adjacent to the Desiatynna Church.

    Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 172–74, no. 109.

13. *Kiev. 1909. A* dirham from a necklace and possibly dirhams of the late eighth–early ninth century were found in the excavations of grave 14 in the yard of the Desiatynna Church. One coin was a worn Samanid dirham struck between 892/93 and 907/08.

    Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 142-43, no. 14.

14. *Kiev. 1909.* Two Samanid dirhams, both struck in al-Shash in 911/12, were found in grave 110 in the yard of the Desiatynna Church. One dirham had an attached tab, and the other had two holes as well as a cross with three crossbars scratched on it.

    Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 174–76, no. 110.

15. *Kiev. 1911.* Two Samanid dirhams were part of a necklace found during excavations of grave 30 in the yard of the Desiatynna Church: (1) Samarqand, 905/06, and (2) worn, date and mint indeterminable. Both dirhams had attached tabs.

    Karger, *Kiev,* pp. 146-47, no. 30.

16. *Kiev. 1913.* A large coin-treasure hoard was found inside a copper pot in the garden of I. A. Sikors'kyi along Velykopidval'na Street. The coin part of the

hoard consisted of 2,930 dirhams dating from 709/10 to 905/06. While this important hoard has yet to be published in detail, Pakhomov provided a general summary of the 2,760 dirhams from this hoard that were examined by R. Fasmer in the Hermitage.

I. *Umayyad* (90)
Struck in al-Jazīrah, Junday-Sabur, Darabjird, Dimashq, Sabur, al-Sāmiyyah, Māhī, and Wasit between 709/10 and 749/50.

II. *Abbasid Partisans* (2)
Istakhr and al-Kufah, 745/46

III. *Spanish Umayyad (2)*
al-Andalus, 767/68 – 768/69

IV. *'Abbāsid* (ca. *2,290)*
Struck between 749/50 and 903/04 in: Abarshahr; Adharbayjan, 754/55, 785/86; ArdashTr-Khurrah; Arran, 769/70, 800/01 (2), 802/03 (2), 803/04, 805/06 (3), 806/07, 822/23 (2), 824/25 (3), 826/27, 828/29, 835 (2); Armīniyah, 761/62, 764/65, 768/69, 770, 771/72, 777/78 (2), 778/79 (2), 783/84 (2), 795/96, 796/97, 797/98, 798/99, 801/02, 818/19, 866/67, 868/69, 880/81 (5), 889/90 (2), 890/91 (2); Istakhr; Ifrīqiyah; Bukhārā; al-Basrah; Tiflīs, 862/63, 900; Jayy; Dimashq; Ra's al-'Ayn; al-Rahbah; al-Rāfiqah; Rāmhurmuz; al-Rayy; Zaranj; Sijistan; Samarqand; Surra man ra'ā; Suq al-Ahwāz; S.kzhar (?); al-Shāsh; al-'Abbasiyyah; Tabaristan; Miṣr; Qaṣr al-Salām; Qumm; Kirman; al-Kufah; al-Mubārakah; al-Muhammadiyyah; Madīnat al-Salām; Marw; Ma'din Bājunays, 805/06 (2), 806/07 (3), 808/09, 828/29; Ma'din al-Shash; al-Mawsil (?); Naṣībīn; Harah; al-Hārūniyyah, 786/87 (2); Harunabad, 785/86 (2); al-Hashimiyyah; Wasit; al-Yamāmah.

V. *Aghlabid* (1)
al-'Abbasiyyah, 800/01

VI. *Idrīsid* (8)
Tudghah, 790/91 Walīlah, 806/07

VII. *Kharijite Imam Khalaf ibn al-Madā'* (1?)
Tudghah, 791/92

VIII. *Tahirid* (44)
Struck between 821/22 and 867/68 in Zaranj, Samarqand, al-Shash, Faris, al-Muḥammadiyyah, Marw, Naysabur, Harāh

IX. *Sājid* (1)
Bardha'ah

X. *Ṣaffārid* (7)
Struck between 878/79 and 897/98 in Arrajan, Shīrāz, Marw, Naysabur

XI. *Sāmānid* (311)
Struck between 879/80 and 906/07 in Samarqand, al-Shash, Marw, Naysābūr, etc.

XII. *Bānījūrid* (2?)
Andarābah, 891/92, 904/05

XIII. *Zaydid* (1)
Jurjan, 881/82

Karger, *Kiev*, pp. 121-22; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 83, no. 13; E. A. Pakhomov, *Monetnye klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblasti Kavkaza*, vol. 2 (Baku, 1938), pp. 70-71, no. 612; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 165, no. 9.

17. *Kiev. 1927.* In laying underground pipes, four dirhams were found. All were 'Abbasid dirhams struck in Samarqand in 809/10.

Karger, *Kiev*, p. 122; Kropotkin, "Sasanidskikh," p. 89, no. 140; Kotlar, ''Obrót,'' p. 22, no. 15.

18. ***Kiev.*** *1936.* Eight dirhams were part of a necklace found in grave 112 excavated in the yard of the Art Institute. Seven were Samanid: al-Shāsh, 900, 900/01, 922/23, 914-943; Samarqand, 900, 912/13; Marw, 914/15. The eighth dirham was very worn and indeterminable.

    Karger, ***Kiev,*** pp. 178-82, no. 112.

19. *Kiev. 1937.* A highly oxidized Samanid dirham, probably struck between 961 and 976, was found in the excavations of grave 123 in the yard of the Art Institute.

    Karger, ***Kiev,*** pp. 206-208, no. 123.

20. ***Kiev.*** *1939.* During excavations on the Kyselivka/Zamkova Hill, a Samanid dirham of 943 was found.

    Karger, ***Kiev,*** p. 122; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 10.

21. *Kiev. Date ?.* An Islamic coin was found in the yard of the St. Andrew Church.

    Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 14.

22. ***Kiev.*** *Date ?.* An Islamic coin was found at 9 Kateryns'ka/Karl Liebknecht Street.

    Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 13.

23. *Near the village of Savyn. Kozelets' raion. Chernihiv oblast'. ca. 1868.* Islamic coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries were found in sandy burial mounds. The coins included ʿAbbāsid dirhams of 811/12–941/42.

    Markov, *Topografiia*, p. 51, no. 293.

24. *Kiev county. Kiev gubernia. Before 1890.* An ʿAbbāsid dirham of 799/800 was found on the former lands of Count Dobrynskii.

    Kotliar, *Hroshovyi obih,* p. 41, fn. 23, no. 4; Markov, *Topografiia,* p. 14, no. 76.

25. *Pekari. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. Before 1898.* An ʿAbbāsid dirham struck in Samarqand in 811/12 was found at Kniazha hora.

    Kropotkin, "Sasanidskikh," p. 90, no. 152.

26. *Oster. Kozelets raion. Chernihiv oblast'. ca. 1911.* An indeterminable dirham was found at a fortified site near the city.

    Kropotkin, "Sasanidskikh," p. 91, no. 156.

27. *Bilohorodka. Kiev-Sviatoshyne raion. 1909–1914.* A tenth-century dirham was found in one of the graves near the Malyi Khram.

    Motsia, "Monety," p. 78, no. III.

28. *Denysy. Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi raion. Kiev oblast'. 1912.* A huge coin-treasure hoard was found in a clay pot. Among the 5,400 silver coins, the earliest dated to pre-750 and the most recent to 1002–1026. Given the large number of coins, it is not surprising to find different figures for certain types of coins in the hoard.

    A. Dirhams (402 whole + 4,293 fragments = 5,325 total)

    Fasmer identified and published 671 (668) dirhams (378 [376] whole + 293 [292] fragments) from among those that reached the Hermitage. In addition, he noted 24 worn dirhams and 1,630 fragments which could not be identified. On 207 such fragments Fasmer was able to decipher either the date, usually between 922/23 and 999/1000, or the mint, e.g., Āmul, Andarabah, Bukhara, Samarqand, al-Shash, Madīnat al-Salām, and Naysabur.

I. *Umayyad*(1)
1 Mint and date indeterminable
II. *'Abbāsid* (7)
1 al-Muḥammadiyyah, 805/06
2 al-Kūfah, 912/13, 941/42
2 Madīnat al-Salām, 930/31, 941/42
1 al-Basrah, 932/33
1 mint indeterminable, 908-932
III. *Amīr al-Umarā'* (1)
1 al-Mawsil, 940/41
IV. *Samanid* (379)
75 Samarqand, 900/01, 917/18, 930/31, 933, 936/37, 939/40, 940/41, 914-943 (4), 943/44, 947/48, 948/49, 949/50, 950/51, 951/52, 943-954 (4), 954/55, 955/56, 958/59, 960/61 (2), 962/63, 964/65, 965 (2), 965/66 (5), 966/67 (2), 968/69, 969/70 (2), 973/74, 974/75, 976/77, 977/78, 961-976 (5), 977/78 (6), 979/80 (2), 981/82, 984/85 (3), 985/86, 988/89 (4), 989/90 (2), 995/96, 976-997 (6)

90 al-Shāsh, 901/02, 895/96 or 904/05, 923/24, 925/26, 926/27, 928/29, 930/31, 933, 934/35 (2), 935/36 (2), 936/37 (2), 940/41, 941/42, 914-943 (4), 946/47, 952/53 (2), 953/54, 943-954 (3), 954/55, 955/56, 960/61 (4), 962/63, 965 (3), 965/66 (3), 966/67, 968/69 (2), 970/71 (2), 971/72 (2), 972/73, 973/74 (2), 974/75 (2), 975/76 (2), 961-976 (14), 977/78, 979/80 (2), 981/82 (2), 982/83 (2), 983/84 (2), 984/85, 985/86 (4), 986/87, 987/88, 990/91, 976-997 (5)

1 Andarābah, 915/16
7 Balkh, 935/36, 955/56, 954-961, 962/63, 961-976 (3)
24 Mint indeterminable, 897/98, 906/07, 931/32, 950/51 (2), 957/58, 958/59, 959/60 (2), 962/63, 965, 965/66 (2), 966/67, 967/68, 970/71, 974/75, 978/79, 979/80 (2), 985/86, 988/89 (2), 1003/04.

116 Mint and date indeterminable, 907-914 (2), 914-943 (10), 943-954 (15), 954-961 (9), 961-976 (54), 976-997 (26)

42 Bukhara, 947/48 (2), 951/52, 953/54, 957/58, 958/59 (3), 959/60, 960/61 (5), 954-961 (3), 962/63 (4), 963/64 (2), 964/65 (2), 965 (5), 965/66, 66/67, 969/70, 971/72, 961-976 (2), 975/76-979/80 (2), 986/87 (3), 988/89

3 Āmul, 966/67 (2), 967/68
12 Rasht, 970/71 (2), 971/72 (2), 974/75 (2), 975/76, 976/77 (3), 961-976 (2)
9 Naysābūr, 983/84, 984/85, 985/86, 986/87, 987/88, 976-997 (4)
V. *Imitations* (6)
6 Samanid prototype
VI. *Sīmjūrid* (17)
17 Naysabur, 987/88 (6), 989/90, 990/91, 994/95 (3), 995/96, 980s-990s (5)
VII. *Bānījūrid* (2)
2 Andarābah, 907/08, 909/10
VIII. *Amirs of Andarabah* (2)
2 Andarabah, 970/71, 975/76
IX. *Īlek-Khānid* **(4)**
2 Taraz, 1003/04 (2)
2 Mint and date indeterminable (2)
X. *Buwayhid* **(159)**
1 al-Mawsil, 944/45
1 Rāmhurmuz, 960/61
13 Araajan, 977/78 (2), 959/60, 970/71, 971/72, 974/75, 975/76, 970s (3), 978/79, 981/82, ca. 980

1 Qumm, 970/71
2 Māh al-Kūfah, 965/66, 977/78
7 al-Muḥammadiyyah, 960s–970s, 980/81, 982/83, 980s (2), 984/85 (2)
1 Jannaba, 956/57
1 al-Sīrajān, 976/77
8 Astarābādh, 980/81, 980s (2), 981/82, 983/84, 988/89, 980s (2)
12 Āmul, 980/81, 981/82 (3), 982/83, 983/84, 980s, 985/86, 989/90 (2), ca. 990 (2)
1 al-Basrah (?), 980s
5 Sariyyah, 979/80, 982/83, 985/86, 980s (2)
4 Madīnat al-Salām, 981/82, 980s (3)
2 Wasit, 979/80 (2)
14 Jurjān, 980/81, 981/82, 982/83 (2), 980s (6), 983/84, 985/86, 987/88, 991/92
1 Qaswīn, 981/82
1 Hamadhān, 982/83
1 Firrīm, 980s
1 Hausam (?), 985/86
18 Mint indeterminable, 949/50, 940s, 965 or 974/75, 967/68, 974/75 (2), 975/76, 982/83, 983/84 (3), 984/85, 985/86, 986/87 (2), 989/90 (3)
61 Mint and date indeterminable, ca. 950, 960s-970s (35), 980s (25)
2 Isbahān, 980s (2)
1 Suq al-Ahwāz, 981/82

XI. *Ziyārid* (74)
7 Astarābādh, 972/73 (2), 973/74, 975/76, 970s (3)
11 Amul, 968/69, 969/70, 971/72 (2), 973/74, 974/75, 975/76, 970s (3), 979/80
17 Jurjan, 968/69 (2), 970/71 (2), 972/73, 973/74, 974/75 (2), 975/76, 976/77 (3), 970s (4), 977/78
7 Sāriyyah, 969/70, 972/73, 976/77 (2), 970s, 977/78, 978/79
6 Mint indeterminable, 970/71, 969/70, 974/75, 975/76, 978/79 (2)
26 Mint and date indeterminable, 970s (26)

XII. *Hamdānid* (3)
1 Hims, 945/46
1 al-Mawsil, 949/50
1 Nasībīn, 958/59

XIII. *Marwānid* (4)
1 Mayyāfāriqīn, 1008/09
3 Mint and date indeterminable, 1000s (3)

XIV. *Sallārid* (1)
1 ArdabTl, 965/66

XV. *Bāwandid* (5)
5 FirrTm, 966/67, 969/70, 975/76, 979/80, 970s

XVI. *'Uqaylid* (1)
1 al-Mawsil, 1000/01

XVII. *Julandid* (2)
Huzū, 949/50, 950/51

B. West European (41)
Czech, Danish, English, and German deniers dating from 919-936 to 1002–1026

C. Imitation Deniers (15)

D. Byzantine (4)
3 miliaresia of John Tzimisces (969-976) and 1 of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025)

E. Imitation Byzantine (1—copper)

F. India (2)

Tenth Century (1), ca. 900 (1)

G. Rus' (6 or 7)

Volodimer (980-1015), 5 or 6

Iaroslav (1019–1054), 1

The hoard also contained one silver ingot.

R. Fasmer, "Kuficheskiia monety Pereiaslavskogo klada," *Izvestiia arkheologicheskoi komissii* 51 (1914): 17-66; Korzukhina, *Klady*, pp. 85-86, no. 18, who dates the hoard's burial to the early eleventh century; Potin, "Topografiia," pp. 181-82, no. 380, who dates the hoard's burial to 1010.

29. *Bakhmach' raion. Chernihiv oblast'. 1913–1914.* An imitation dirham of the tenth century with a tab attached was found in burial mound 7.

Motsia, "Monety," p. 79, no. IX.

30. *Bondari. Oster county. Chernihiv province. 1913-1914.* A hoard of 420 dirhams was found. The most recent coin was a Samanid dirham of 951/52.

I. *Samanid* (323)

II. *Imitation dirhams* (17)

III. *Others* (?)

Kropotkin, "Sasanidskikh," p. 90, no. 153.

31. *Khabrivka. Near Kiev. 1916.* A hoard of Islamic and West European silver coins was found in a clay pot. In 1968, the pot along with 106 dirhams and 23 deniers were sold to museums in Warsaw. It is believed that these 129 coins constitute only part of the original hoard. The oldest dirham dated to 747/48 and the most recent coin was a denier of 1018-1035.

I. *Umayyad* (2)

2 Wāsiṭ, 747/48 (2)

II. *'Abbasid* (49)

11 Madīnat al-Salām, 765/66, 773/74, 778/79, 782/83, 786/87, 788/89, 782/83, 786/87, 788/98, 786/87-795/96, 807/08, 849/50, 867/68, 869/70

5 al-Muḥammadiyyah, 771/72 (?), 798/99, 819/20, 833/34, 902/03-907/08

1 al-'Abbāsiyyah, 783/84

1 Madīnat Balkh, 803/04

5 Samarqand, 805/06, 867/68 (3), 865/66-868/69

8 mint indeterminable, 787/88, 823/24, 848/49, 854/55-863/64, 867/68 (2), 893/94, 933/34-940/41

2 Madlnat Isbahan, 813/14, 816/17 or 826/27

1 Makka, 816/17

3 al-Shash, 840/41, 859/60, 869/70–892/93

2 Marw, 851/52 or 853/54, 862/63–865/66

2 Surra man ra'ā, 859/60, 865/66

1 Wasit, 875/76

3 Armīniyah, 880/81 (2), 890/91

4 Mint and year indeterminable, 4

III. *Samanid* (39)

8 Samarqand, 894/95, 895/96, 897/98, 905/06, 935/36, 913/14-942/43, 945/46 (2)

18 al-Shāsh, 894/95 (3), 895/96 (3), 896/97 (3), 897/98 (2), 898/99, 899/900, 900/01 (2), 902/03, 903/04, 904/05

5 Andarābah, 902/03 (2), 903/04, 905/06, 892/93-907/08

3 Balkh, 905/06 (2), 929/30 or 931/31

5 Mint indeterminable, 913/14-942/43 (3), 938/39 or 940/41, 942/43–950/51.

IV. *Ṣaffārid* (3)
- 1 al-Banjhīr, 868-878/79
- 1 ShTraz, 885/86
- 1 Arrajan, 891/92

V. *Bānījūrid* **(2)**
- 2 Andarābah, 904/05 (2)

VI. *Imitations* (11)
- 6 'Abbāsid prototypes
- 2 Sāmānid prototypes
- 2 Indeterminable prototypes
- 1 Blank flan

VII. *West European* (23)
- 15 German
- 2 Czech
- 4 English
- 1 Scandinavian
- 1 French

Maria Czapkiewicz and Anna Kmietowicz, "Wczesnosredniowieczny skarb srebrny z Chabrowki koto Kijowa,'' *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 17, no. 1 (1973): 16-46. The authors could not establish the exact location of Khabrivka (Polish, Chabrówka).

32. *Zarubyntsi. Monastyryshche raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1961.* An Abbasid dirham struck in MadTnat al-Salām in 814/15 was found in a settlement of the ninth–tenth centuries.

    Kropotkin, "Sasanidskikh," p. 89, no. 139.

33. *Zarubyntsi. Monastyryshche raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1974.* A dirham was found in one of the dwellings excavated during archaeological digs.

    Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1974 goda (Moscow, 1975), p. 291.

34. *Monastyrok. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1979-1980.* During archaeological excavations of the medieval site, a dirham of 740/41 (Umayyad ?) was found in 1979, and a dirham of 761 ('Abbasid ?) was found in 1980.

    Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1979 goda (Moscow, 1980), p. 299; *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1980 goda* (Moscow, 1981), p. 277.

APPENDIX B: Finds of Byzantine Coins from Kiev and Surrounding Areas

1. *Kiev. 1824.* Byzantine coins were found in the churchyard of the Desiatynna Church.

   Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 39 (515).

2. *Kiev. 1830s. A* nomisma of Theodora (1055-1056) was found during the digging of cellars.

   Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 40 (516).

3. *Kiev. 1843.* An anonymous, bronze Byzantine coin of the tenth–eleventh centuries was found near St. Sophia Cathedral. It is often attributed to John Tzimisces (969-976).

   Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 164; Karger, *Kiev,* p. 125; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 1

4. *Kiev. 1853. A* Bronze Byzantine coin (no date given) was found on Velykopidval'na Street during the removal of walls.

   Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 165; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* **p.** 164, no. 19.

5. ***Kiev.*** *1876. A* solidus of Basil **II** and Constantine **VIII** (976-1025) was found at the former Bessarabian Square.

   Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 167; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 10.

6. *Kiev. 1878.* Several copper Byzantine coins, probably anonymous, were found at the Kudriavets' during excavations for treasure.

   Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 168.

7. *Kiev. 1882.* An anonymous copper Byzantine coin of the ninth–eleventh centuries was found in the Podil section on Kozhumiaky Street.

   Kropotkin *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 169; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 3, reports coins of John Tzimisces (969-976) there also.

8. *Kiev. 1882. A* copper coin of Constantine **VII** (919-921) was found in grave 94 in the former yard of T. V. Kybal'chych on Velyka Dorohozhyts'ka (now Mel'nykiv) Street, no. 40.

   Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 41 (170); Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 9.

9. ***Kiev.*** *Before 1883.* A solidus of Constantine **VII** and Romanus **II** (945-959) was found near St. Sophia Cathedral.

   Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 166; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 4.

10. *Kiev. 1883. A* Kherson-Byzantine coin of Basil I (877-886) was found along Malo-Volodymyrs'ka Street in the former yard of M. F. Biliashivs'kyi.

    Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. **171.**

11. *Kiev. Ca. 1888. A* hoard of anonymous Byzantine copper coins of the tenth–eleventh centuries was found on Spas'ka Street near the former yard of Ivanishev in the Podil. Nine coins were identified; they are usually attributed to John Tzimisces (969-976).

Karger, *Kiev,* p. 124; Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 172; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 14, lists a hoard of Byzantine coins found along Heroiv Trypillia Street, formerly Spas'ka Street, in the Podil; he also lists, p. 164, no. 2, 9 coins of John Tzimisces found in 1855.

12. *Kiev. 1889.* A coin-treasure hoard was found on April 20 along Troitskii, now Ryl'skyi provulok, in the former yard of Hrebenovs'kyi. The coins included two bent solidi with tabs: Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) and John II Comnenus (1118–1143).

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 173; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 21.

13. *Kiev. Early 1890s.* Two miliaresia of Romanus I, Constantine VII, Stephen, and Constantine (931–944) were found in the excavation of grave 124 on Frunze Street.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 175; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 15.

14. ***Kiev.*** *1893.* A coin of Constantine VII and Romanus II (945-959) was found during sewer construction.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," pp. 173-74, no. 42 (517).

15. *Kiev. 1894. A* silver coin, apparently Byzantine, was found on the Kyselivka.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 174; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 5, reports coins of the ninth-tenth century from Zamkova hora.

16. *Kiev. No later than 1899.* Five Byzantine coins and treasure were found in the former Kravtsov yard along Heroiv Revoliutsii Street.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 174, no. 43 (518).

17. *Kiev. 1899.* (See appendix A, no. 10) Among gold coins in a coin-treasure hoard were 15 solidi: 1 Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969); 7 Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025); 2 Romanus III (1028-1034); 1 Constantine IX Monomakh (1042-1055); 4 Isaac I Comnenus (1057-1059).

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 176; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 6, says 12 gold coins.

18. *Kiev. Before 1907. A* Byzantine copper coin and an unspecified Byzantine coin were found. No dates are given.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, nos. 185 and 186.

19. *Kiev. 1908. A* hoard of 37 Kherson-Byzantine coins was found on the Kyselivka: 28 Basil I (867-886); 2 Basil I and Constantine (867-870); 5 Romanus I (919-944); 1 Romanus II (959-963); 1 Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969).

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 177; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 7.

20. *Kiev. 1908*. During archaeological excavations of grave 122 at the Desiatynna Church, a gilded silver "barbarian" imitation of a solidus of Basil I and Constantine (869-879) or Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025) was found. The coin had a tab.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 178.

21. *Kiev. 1908-1914.* During archaeological excavations at the site of the Desiatynna Church, several anonymous Byzantine copper coins of the tenth–eleventh centuries were found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 179.

22. *Kiev. 1920s.* A miliaresion of John Tzimisces (969-976) was found on the left bank of the Dnieper.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 174, no. 44 (519).

23. *Kiev. 1937.* During archaeological excavations at the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery, a copper coin of Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) was found in dwelling 3.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 180; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 20, lists two Byzantine coins from the 1934–1938 excavations.

24. *Kiev. 1939.* An unspecified number of copper coins were found at the Luk'ianivka. They included: Constantine VII (913-959); the period from John Tzimisces to Romanus III (969-1034); Theodora (1055-1056); Isaac I Comnenus (1057-1059); a worn coin of either Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067) or Michael VII Ducas (1071 - 1078). The majority of these coins were evidently anonymous.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 174, no. 45 (520).

25. *Kiev. 1949.* During archaeological excavations at the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery, a copper Byzantine coin of the eighth century was found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 181; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 18.

26. *Kiev. 1950.* During archaeological excavations near the corner of Volos'ka Street and Heroïv Trypillia Street in the Podil, a copper coin of Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) was found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 182.

27. *Kiev. 1955.* During archaeological excavations at 7-9 Volodymyrs'ka Street, a copper coin of Leo VI (886-912) was found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 183; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 12.

28. *Kiev. 1959* (?). During the digging of a ditch in the Mykil'ska sloboda, on the left bank of the Dnieper, a solidus of Romanus I and Christopher (919-944) was found, probably in a burial mound.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 187.

29. ***Kiev.*** *1972.* Two copper coins were found during archaeological excavations in Red Square in the Podil: 1 Constantine VII (945-959) and one poorly preserved, now attributed to Romanus I (921-944).

Novoe v arkheologii, pp. 415-16; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 16.

30. ***Kiev.*** *1972-1973.* Two coins of Constantine VIII (1025-1028) were found in excavations in the Podil.

Novoe v arkheologii, 373.

31. *Kiev. 1973.* Two Byzantine copper coins were found during the excavations in the Zhytnyi rynok in the Podil: one, poorly preserved, was probably of the tenth–eleventh centuries; one was an anonymous coin of the tenth–eleventh centuries.

Novoe v arkheologii, pp. 416-17; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 17.

32. ***Kiev.*** *1974 or 1975.* A Byzantine coin of the eleventh–twelfth century was found in excavations at 17 Volos'ka Street, in the Podil.

Novoe v arkheologii, p. 371; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, no. 22.

33. *Kiev. 1981–1982.* An anonymous Byzantine coin of the tenth-eleventh centuries was found by chance during archaeological excavations at 9–11 Poliny Osypenko Street.

Ia. E. Borovs'kyi (Borovskii) and M. A. Sahaidak (Sagaidak), "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia verkhnego Kieva v 1978-1982 gg.," in *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia Kieva 1978–1983gg.* (Kiev, 1985), p. 50.

34. *Kiev. Date ?* Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 164, nos. 8, 11, and 13, reports a ninth-century Byzantine coin from "Iaroslav's City," 6 Byzantine coins of the ninth–tenth centuries from Starokyïvs'ka hora, and 6 Byzantine coins from the yard of the former Brotherhood Monastery, now Red Square.

35. *Vyshhorod. Kiev raion. 1824.* A nomisma (?) of Theodora (1055-1056) was found.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 36 (512).

36. *Kaniv. Cherkasy oblast'. Before 1837.* Many Byzantine copper coins of various types were found near the town.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 179, no. 78 (548).

37. *Trylisy. Fastiv. Kiev oblast'. 1866.* A gold coin, probably a Byzantine nomisma of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, was found in a nomadic grave inside a burial mound.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 174, no. 48 (522).

38. *Trypillia. Obukhiv raion. Kiev oblast'. 1874.* Along the Dnieper and near the village a Kherson-Byzantine copper coin of Romanus I (919–944) was found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 191.

39. *Bezridna. Kiev county. Before 1876.* A Byzantine copper coin of the late tenth–early eleventh century was found.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 33 (509).

40. *Former Kaniv county. Now in Cherkasy oblast'. Before 1885. A* coin of John Tzimisces (969-976) was found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 37, no. 277.

41. *Kniazha hora. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1887.* A coin-treasure hoard was found which included two gold coins of Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078-1081).

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 37, no. 279.

42. *Pekari. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. Before 1899. A* Kherson-Byzantine copper coin of Romanus I (920-944) and a copper coin of one of the Comneni (twelfth century) were found during archaeological excavations at Kniazha hora.

Kropotkin, ''Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 179, no. 81 (551).

43. *Sakhnivka. Korsun'-Shevchenkivs'kyi raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1900. A* coin-treasure hoard was found in two pots near the site. It included two gold coins: 1 Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) and 1 lost.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 37, no. 281.

44. *Bilohorodka. Kiev-Sviatoshyne raion. 1882.* A nomisma of Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034) was found.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 34 (510).

45. *Hamarnia. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast". 1890s. A* nomisma of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025) was found in the village.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 179, no. 77 (547).

46. *Vyshhorod. Kiev oblast'. 1906.* During excavations, a copper Byzantine coin of the late tenth–early eleventh century was found along the shore of the Dnieper.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 37 (513).

47. *Bilohorodka. Kiev-Sviatoshyne raion. 1909. A* solidus of John Tzimisces (969-976) was found in the foundations of a burnt building.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 162.

48. *Vypovziv. Kozelets' raion. Chernihiv oblast'. Before 1911.* An anonymous Byzantine copper coin of the late tenth–early eleventh century was found near the village.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 179, no. 87 (557).

49. *Denysy. Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi raion. Kiev oblast'. 1912.* (See appendix A, no. 28) The large hoard of some 5,400 silver coins included three fragments of miliaresia of John Tzimisces (969-976), a miliaresion of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025), and one fragment of a copper "barbarous" imitation of a coin of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976- 1025).

Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 85-86, no. 18; Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 32, no. 163.

50. *Somewhere in the middle Dnieper. Before 1914. A* pendant made from a Byzantine copper coin was obtained from the Khvoika collection.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh*, p. 33, no. 190.

51. *Somewhere in the middle Dnieper. Ca. 1917.* A Byzantine copper coin was found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 189.

52. *Obukhiv. Kiev oblast'. Before 1927.* A coin of Basil I (867-886) was reportedly found. Kropotkin, however, believes that the coin most likely came from a private collection.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh,* p. 33, no. 188.

53. *Vyhurivshchyna. Now part of Kiev. 1934.* Along the Dnieper an anonymous Byzantine copper coin of the late tenth-early eleventh century was found.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 35 (511).

54. *Vyshhorod. Kiev oblast'. 1937.* Two copper coins were found: 1 Constantine X Ducas (1059- 1067) and 1 Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071).

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 173, no. 38 (514).

55. *Andrushi. Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi raion. Kiev oblast'. 1950.* During archaeological excavations in a sandy dune, a pierced Byzantine bronze coin of Constantine X Ducas (1059–1067) was found.

Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh*, p. 32, no. 161a.

56. *Rzhyshchiv. Kiev oblast'. I960.* During archaeological excavations a Byzantine coin was found.

Kropotkin, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh," p. 174, no. 47 (188a).

APPENDIX C: Finds of West European Coins from Kiev and Surrounding Areas

1. *Kiev. 1835.* A German coin of Henry III (1039–1056) was found along Kozyne-Boloto Street in what is now the area of the Square of the October Revolution.

   Potin, "Topografiia," p. 181, no. 373; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 165, no. 1, where the coin is dated to 1080.

2. *Kiev. Before 1895.* Two hoards "with German coins dating to the reign of Henry II (1002-1024)" were found.

   Potin, "Topografiia," p. 181, nos. 374-75; *Novoe* v *arkheologii,* pp. 420-22, where it is argued that the first hoard resulted from a confusion with the 1835 find and that the second hoard did not exist.

3. *Kiev. 1936–1939*. A gilded Venetian coin of Doge Dandolo (1192–1205) was found during the excavation of a grave in the ruins of the Desiatynna Church. A Venetian grosso or groat of Doge Petro Ziani (1205-1229) was found by chance on Starokyivs'ka Hill.

   Novoe v arkheologii, pp. 358, 422; Potin, "Topografiia," p. 181, no. 376; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 2.

4. *Kiev. 1940.* Two deniers of the late tenth–eleventh centuries were found in the excavations at the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery: 1 English, Aethelred II (978-1016) and 1 German, Otto and Adelheid (991–1040).

   Novoe v arkheologii, p. 415.

5. *Kiev. 1978.* Four deniers from the first half of the eleventh century were found during archaeological excavations at 36-38 Reitars'ka Street: 2 English, Cnut I, pointed helmet type (1017-1022), from different mints; 1 English, indeterminable, perhaps Edward the Confessor (1042-1066); 1 poorly preserved, perhaps German, Henry II (1014–1024).

   Borovs'kyi and Sahaidak, "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia verkhnego Kieva," p. 42; *Novoe v arkheologii,* pp. 419-20; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 165, no. 3.

6. *Cherkasy. Before 1900. A* hoard of deniers was found around Cherkasy. Only 21 vendki of the eleventh century are known from this hoard.

   Potin, "Topografiia," p. 181, no. 379.

7. *Oster county. Chernihiv gubernia. Before 1917. A* hoard of West European coins of the tenth–eleventh centuries was found. No further details are available.

   Potin, "Topografiia," p. 181, no. 377.

8. *Vyshhorod. Kiev oblast'. 1930s.* During archaeological excavations, two deniers were found: 1 English, Aethelred II (978-1016); 1 German, Otto and Adelheid (991–1040).

   Potin, "Topografiia," p. 181, no. 372.

9. *Vyshhorod. Kiev oblast'. 1980.* An English denier of Aethelred II (976-1016) was found during archaeological excavations.

   Novoe v arkheologii, p. 424.

10. *Denysy. Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi raion. Kiev oblast'. 1912.* (See appendix A, no. 28; appendix B, no. 49) Forty-one West European deniers dating between 919-936 and 1002-1026 were part of a huge coin-treasure hoard, including some 5,400 silver coins, deposited ca. 1020.

11. *Khabrivka. Near Kiev. 1916.* (See appendix A, no. 31) Twenty-three deniers dating between 919-964 and 1018-1035 (one of which was tentatively dated to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries) were allegedly part of a dirham hoard whose most recent dirham dated to 945/46.

APPENDIX D: Ingots of the Kiev Type found in the Rus' Lands and Other Ingots found in and around Kiev

1. *Kiev. 1787.* (See appendix A, no. 2) Three or four silver ingots of the Kiev type were part of a coin-treasure hoard found along the slopes of the Khreshchatyk.

   Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 90, no. 29, where the hoard is dated to the eleventh–early twelfth centuries; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 133, no. 34; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 174, no. 33.

2. *Kiev. 1826.* Four silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing 162.2g each were found in the ruins of the Desiatynna Church.

   Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 24, no. 68; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 42; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 1; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 173, no. 1.

3. *Kiev. 1838.* Three (or five) silver ingots of the Kiev type were found in the former yard of Korol'ov/Trubetskoi. They weighed 164.2g, 155.7g, and 153.7g.

   Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 26, no. 80; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 43; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 3; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 173, no. 3.

4. *Kiev. By 1846.* A. S. Annenkov donated a silver ingot of the Kiev type, perhaps part of a chance find from Kiev. According to Korzukhina, this ingot and the one from *"Kiev. 1847"* may be part of one hoard found in 1842.

   Korzukhina, *Klady*, pp. 106-107, no. 65B and p. 108, no. 65, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

5. *Kiev. 1847. A* silver ingot of the Kiev type weighing 153.6g was part of a treasure hoard found by the Desiatynna Church in the former garden of Annenkov.

   Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 24, no. 69; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 44; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 107, no. 65V, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 4; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 173, no. 4.

6. *Kiev. 1851.* Six (or three) ingots of the Kiev type were found in the former yard of Korol'ov or Annenkov.

   Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 26, no. 81; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 65; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 5; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 173, no. 5.

7. *Kiev. 1854.* Two silver ingots of the Kiev type were found with treasure in the former Prysutstvenni mistsia (15 Volodymyrs'ka Street).

   Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 26, no. 83; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 66; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 114, no. 88, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 18; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 173, no. 17.

8. *Kiev. 1857.* Six silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing between 160.9g and 152.6g were part of a hoard found in the former yard of Klimovich.

   Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 110, no. 76, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s

and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 6; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 6.

9. *Kiev. 1862.* Three ingots of the Kiev type were part of a hoard found near the former home of Klimovich.

   Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 111, no. 77, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 7; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 7.

10. *Kiev. Pre-1868.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was part of a treasure hoard found in excavations on the land of the Desiatynna Church. Tolochko reports that two or several ingots of the Kiev type were found in the yard of the Desiatynna Church in 1837.

    Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 108, no. 66, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 2; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 2.

11. *Kiev. 1876.* Fourteen silver ingots of the Kiev type were found along with treasure in a clay pot by the Desiatynna Church in the former yard of Leskov.

    Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 24, no. 71; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 68; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 111-12, no. 80, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130, no. 8; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 8.

12. *Kiev. 1880. A* rich treasure hoard including 34 silver ingots of the Kiev type was found while digging a canal in the former yard of Kuhlyn on Velyka Zhytomyrs'ka Street. The ingots weighed: 164.1g, 160.4g (2), 158.5g (2), 158.4g (2) 157.4g, 156.7g, 156.5g, 156.4g, 156.3g, 156.1g, 156g, 155.4g, 154.9g, 154.3g, 154.2g, 153.8g (2), 153.7g, 153.5g, 153.1g, 152.8g, 151.8g, 151.2g, 150.8g, 148.9g(2), 147.9g, 146.5g, 144.2g, 144.1g, and 141.8g.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 26, no. 84; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 45: Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 115, no. 90, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 19; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 18.

13. *Kiev. 1882*. Two silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing 166.9g and 160.7g were found by the Desiatynna Church in the former yard of Ageev.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 24, no. 72; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 46; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 130-31, no. 9; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 9.

14. *Kiev. 1885.* Nine silver ingots of the Kiev type were part of a treasure hoard found in the former yard of Sikors'kyi. They weighed: 162.1g, 160.7g, 159.2g (2), 158.2g, 156.8g, 155.7g, 153.3g, and 150.5g.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 26, no. 85; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 47; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 117–18, no. 98, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 20; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 19.

15. *Kiev. 1888.* Three ingots of the Kiev type were found by the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 25, no. 76; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 24; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 23.

16. *Kiev. 1888.* A hoard of ingots of the Kiev type was found along the Khreshchatyk ravine.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 26, no. 82; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 133, no. 35; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 34.

17. *Kiev. Pre-1889.* Several ingots of the Kiev type were found by the Desiatynna Church in the former yard of Prince Trubetskoi.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 24, no. 70; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 69; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 17; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 16.

18. *Kiev. 1889.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type and silver objects were found along Reitars'ka Street.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 26, no. 86; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 67; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 117, no. 97, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," pp. 131-32, no. 22; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 21.

19. *Kiev. 1889.* (See appendix B, no. 12) Seven (or nine) silver ingots of the Kiev type were part of a coin-treasure hoard found in the former yard of Hrebenovs'kyi. They weighed: 167.9g, 162.6g, 162.5g, 161.8g, 159.7g, 157.3g, and 156g.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 26, no. 87 (7 ingots); Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 101, no. 39 (7 ingots); Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 118-19, no. 99, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 21; Sotnikova and Spasskii, "Russkie klady," p. 55, no. 17 (6 ingots); Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 173, no. 20.

20. *Kiev. 1898.* One silver ingot (or two) of the Kiev type weighing 163.2g (and 154.6g) was/were found on the Andreev slope.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 20, no. 88; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 48; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 10; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 10.

21. *Kiev. 1899.* (See appendix A, no. 10 and appendix B, no. 17) Two gold ingots of undetermined form weighing 94.7g and 141.4g were part of a coin-treasure hoard found in the former yard of Brodskii.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 27, no. 90; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 90, no. 19; Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 90-91, no. 30, where the hoard is dated to the eleventh–early twelfth centuries; Sotnikova and Spasskii, "Russkie klady," p. 53, no. 2; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 133, no. 41.

22. *Kiev. 1899.* Three silver ingots of the Kiev type were found in a copper vessel discovered somewhere in the Podil.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 27, no. 89; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 70; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 133, no. 36; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 35.

23. *Kiev. 1900.* (See appendix B, no. 43) A piece of a gold ingot of the Novgorod type weighing 20g and eight silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing between

157.7g and 143.5 g were part of a coin-treasure hoard obtained for the collection of B. I. Khanenko.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 27, no. 91; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 90, no. 20, and p. 101, no. 40; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 131, no. 127, gives Divocha hora, near Sakhnivka, Kaniv county, Kiev province, as the find spot and dates the hoard to between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 25 and *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 25, gives the yard of the former St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery as the find spot.

24. *Kiev. 1900*. Two silver ingots of the Kiev type were part of a hoard found in the former yard of the Technical School on Mykhailivs'ka Square.

Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 114–15, no. 89, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 26; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, p. 173, no. 24.

25. *Kiev. 1903*. Two silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing 160.5g and 157.6g were found with treasure by the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 25, no. 77; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 49; Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 120-22, no. 103, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 27; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* pp. 173-74, no. 26.

26. *Kiev. 1903.* An ingot of the Kiev type was found on the Zamkova hora/Kyselivka along with coins of Volodimer Ol'gerdovich.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 27, no. 92; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 133, no. 37; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 36.

27. *Kiev. 1906.* Two gold ingots (or one cut into two parts) and two silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing 161.8g and 160g were part of a treasure hoard of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries from the courtyard of the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 25, no. 78; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 90, no. 21, and p. 101, no. 41; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 122, no. 105, where only one gold ingot is mentioned and the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 28; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 27, where 3 pieces from gold ingots and two ingots of the Kiev type are mentioned.

28. *Kiev. 1906.* Two silver ingots of the Kiev type were part of a large treasure hoard found along Trysviatytel's'ka Street.

Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 124-25, no. 108, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 29; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 28.

29. *Kiev. 1907.* A treasure hoard including 53 silver ingots of the Kiev type and 3 ingots of the Novgorod type weighing 192.9g (2) and 128g was found in the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery. The Kiev type ingots weighed: 164.5g, 164.2g, 164.1g, 163.9g, 163.7g, 163.1g (2), 163g, 162.9g, 162.8g, 162.7g, 162.5g, 162.4g, 162.1g, 162g (2), 161.9g (2), 161.7g (2), 161.6g, 161.4g, 161.2g (3), 161.1g, 160.6g (2), 160.5g, 160.2g (2), 160.1g, 160g (2), 159.9g,

159.7g (2), 159.3g, 159.2g (3), 159.1g, 158.9g, 158.8g, 158.6g, 158.5g, 158.2g, 158.1g, 158g, 157.2g, 156.7g, 154.2g, and 152.2g.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 25, no. 79; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 105, no. 63 and p. 119, no. 108; Bauer, "Die Silber-," 1931, p. 64, no. 116; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 125, no. 106, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 30; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 29.

30. *Kiev. 1908.* An ingot of the Kiev type weighing 159.4 g was found along with treasure in excavations by the Desiatynna Church.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 25, no. 73; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 102, no. 50; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 11 and *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 11, lists one ingot of the Novgorod type found near the kapyshche in 1908.

31. *Kiev. 1908.* A copper tile, apparently a copper ingot of the Novgorod type, was found in excavations. In 1908 two such copper ingots were also found in the former yard of the Frol Monastery and a third was found in a yard on Kostiantynivs'ka Street. Finally, an ingot cast from lead and weighing 105g. was found on the grounds of the St. Sofia Cathedral ca. 1908–1909.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 27, no. 93; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 119, no. 105; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 133, nos. 38-39; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, nos. 37-38.

32. *Kiev. 1909.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was found in the yard of the Desiatynna Church.

Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 12; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 12.

33. *Kiev. 1911.* Six ingots of the Kiev type were part of a hoard found in excavations at the Desiatynna Church. They weighed: 165.8g, 159.8g, 159.5g, 156.5g, 155.9g, and 146.3g.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 25, no. 74; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 103, no. 51; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 109, no. 69, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 13; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 13.

34. *Kiev. 1914.* Four electrum ingots of the Kiev type were part of a hoard found during work at the Desiatynna Church.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 25, no. 75; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 71, where one silver ingot of the Kiev type is noted; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 111, no. 78, where the hoard is dated to between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, no. 14; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 14.

35. *Kiev. 1936.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was part of a hoard found near the Desiatynna Church in the former yard of Petrovs'kyi.

Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 108, no. 67, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 131, nos. 15 and 16, and *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 173, no. 15, lists two ingots of the Kiev type.

36. *Kiev. 1938.* An ingot of the Kiev type was part of a small hoard found at 14 Strilets'ka Street.

Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 23;-Tolochko, ***Drevnii*** *Kiev,* p. 173, no. 22.

37. *Kiev. 1940.* Fifteen silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing between 160g and 150g were part of a hoard found in the yard of the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery.

Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 122, no. 104, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 31; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 30.

38. *Kiev. 1949.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was found in the yard of the St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery.

Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 132, no. 32; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 31.

39. *Kiev. 1949.* Three silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing 159.9g, 159.7g, and 157.6g as well as three silver monetary ingots having the shape of a small three-edged stick (weighing 196.3g, 195.3g, and a small piece) were part of a treasure hoard found along Heroïv Revoliutsii Street, formerly Trysviatytel's'ka.

Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 125, no. 109, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," pp. 133-34, no. 33; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev,* p. 174, no. 32.

40. *Near Kutkova. Periaslavl'-Riazan' county. Riazan' gubernia. 1673.* At least 39 silver ingots were part of a treasure hoard found along a tributary of the Oka (?). The description of these ingots is imprecise, but Korzukhina believed they were most likely of the Kiev type from the twelfth century.

Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 142–43, no. 161, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

41. *Staiky. Kakharlyk raion. Kiev oblast'. 1819.* Twelve silver ingots of the Kiev type were found.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 29, no. 104; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 72.

42. *Zhuliany (formerly Zheliany). Kiev-Sviatoshyne raion. Kiev oblast'. 1840.* Twenty heavy ingots of the Kiev type were found. One weighed 206.9g.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 29, no. 105; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 118, no. 99; Tolochko, "Topohrafiia," p. 133, no. 40.

43. *Pekari. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. Pre-1840.* Ingots were found along with Roman coins. The ingots may date to the pre-Kievan era.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 30, no. 110.

44. *Khotyn. Rivne raion. Rivne oblast'. 1852.* Several silver ingots of the Kiev type were found.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 16, no. 20; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 108, no. 83.

45. *Sofiis'ka koloniia. Rivne county. Volhynia gubernia. 1866.* A hoard containing one silver ingot of the Kiev type and twelve silver ingots of the "West Rus' " type were found.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 16, no. 22; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 105, no. 64.

46. *Terekhovo. Bolkhovskii county. Orel gubernia. 1876. A* silver ingot of the Kiev type weighing 159.1g was part of a hoard found during the digging of a field.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 38, no. 160; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 104, no. 58; Korzukhina, *Klady*, pp. 139-40, no. 154, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

47. *Horbove. Novhorod-Sivers'kyi raion. Chernihiv oblast'. 1878.* Of 25 silver ingots found in a hoard, several were identified: six were heavy ingots of the Kiev type with an average weight of 195.9g.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 52, no. 220; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 118, no. 101.

48. *Pekari/ Kniazha hora. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1877.* Three silver ingots of the Kiev type were found weighing 166.8g, 161.4g, and 152g.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 30, no. 111; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 103, no. 52.

49. *Chernihiv. 1878. A* hoard of 9 silver ingots of the Kiev type was found near the Savior Cathedral.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 53, no. 225; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 108, no. 85.

50. *Richyka. Near Chernihiv. Pre-1884.* Two silver ingots of the Kiev type were found weighing 160g and 157.8g.

    Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 103, no. 55.

51. *Vasyl'kiv (formerly Vasyliv). Kiev oblast'. 1885.* Several gold ingots were part of a treasure hoard found along the Stuhna River.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 28, no. 99; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 21, no. 23; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 133, no. 134, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

52. *Vilkhovets'. Zvenyhorodka raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1888.* Four silver ingots of the Novgorod type and one silver ingot of the Kiev type were found with silver jewelry.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 28, no. 101; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 77; Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 132-33, no. 133, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

53. *Trypilla. Obukhiv raion. Kiev oblast'. Pre-1889.* Several ingots of the Kiev type were found together with other things.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 29, no. 106; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 74.

54. *Vasyl'kiv (formerly Vasyliv). Kiev oblast'. 1889.* Three silver ingots of the Kiev type were found.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 28, no. 95; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 73.

55. *Pekaril Kniazha hora. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1889.* Four silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing 159g, 158.5g, 157.5g, and 156.6g were found.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 30, no. 112; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 103, no. 53.

56. *Horodok. Rivne raion. Rivne oblast'. 1890. A* silver ingot of the Kiev type was found with jewelry.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 16, no. 24; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 108, no. 84; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 135, no. 141, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

57. *Pivtsi. Former Kaniv county. Kiev gubernia. 1891.* An ingot of the Kiev type made of poor quality silver was found with jewelry.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 28, no. 102; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 132, no. 130, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

58. *Pekari/Kniazha hora. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1891.* Three treasure hoards were found during excavations. One hoard contained five silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing between 164.7g and 161.5g along with treasure.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 30, no. 114; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 78; Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 127, no. 115, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

59. *Pekari/Kniazha hora. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1892.* Two silver ingots of the Kiev type were found.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 130, no. 113; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 79.

60. *Diagunino. Zubtsov county. Tver gubernia. 1893.* Three heavy silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing around 195g each were part of a treasure hoard found along the Volga.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 47, no. 205; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 108, no. 86; Korzukhina, *Klady*, pp. 148-49, no. 172, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

61. *Zadrutsie. Łukaŭ volost'. Rahachou county. Mahilou gubernia. 1893.* Twenty-one of 92 silver ingots of the Kiev type were preserved. Bauer gives the weight of 87: 164.8g, 163.7g, 163.3g, 163.2g, 162.6g, 162.2g, 162.1g, 161.9g, 161.8g (2), 161.6g, 161.4g (3), 161.2g, 161.1g, 161g (2), 160.8g, 160.7g, 160.5g, 160.2g, 160g, 159.8g (3), 159.3g, 159.2g (2), 158.9g (2), 158.8g, 158.7g 158.6g, 158.4g, 158.2g, 158.1g, 157.8g (3), 157.7g, 157.3g (3), 157g (3), 156.9g (2), 156.8g (3), 156.6g, 156.4g, 156.1g, 156g, 155.9g. 155.8g, 155.7g 155.3g (2), 155.2g, 155g, 154.9g (2), 154.8g (2), 154.7g (2), 154.6g (2), 154.5g, 154.2g, 153.6g, 153.1g (2), 153g, 152.9g, 152.5g, 152.2g, 151.2g, 150.5g, 147.7g (2), 146.5g, 146.1g, and 135.4g. Four damaged ingots weighed: 153g(2), 152.2g, and 145.5g.

Il'in, *Topografiia*, p. 36, no. 149; Bauer, "Die Silber-," pp. 103-104, no. 57; Sotnikova and Spasskii, "Russkie klady," p. 55, no. 18.

62. *Smila. Kiev gubernia. Pre-1894.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was found.

Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 81.

63. *Pyliava. Kaniv county. Kiev gubernia. 1895.* Six silver ingots were found along with several silver bracelets.

Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 92, no. 34, where the hoard is dated to the eleventh–early twelfth centuries.

64. *Vil'shanytsia. Vasyl'kiv county. Kiev gubernia. 1895.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was found.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 28, no. 96; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 76.

65. *Pekaril Kniazha hora. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1896.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was part of a treasure hoard found in a clay pot.

Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 129, no. 120, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

66. *Mysholovka. Kiev county. 1896.* Eleven ingots, evidently of the Chernihiv type, were found along with silver jewelry. They weighed: 200.4g, 199.8g, 199.6g, 199.3g, 199.2g, 198.6g, 198.4g, 198.1g, 197.3g, 196.2g, and 194.1g.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 29, no. 108; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 114, no. 93; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 133, no. 136, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

67. *Zhadkiva. Korets' raion. Rivna oblast'. 1896.* Fifteen silver ingots of the Kiev type were found. The weights of nine were: 165.8g, 165g, 164.1g, 159.6g, 159.2g, 158.5g (2), 155.6g, and 154.4g.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 16, no. 17; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 103, no. 54.

68. *Viitivtsi. Pereiaslav county. Poltava gubernia. 1898.* Twenty-nine silver ingots of the Kiev type were part of a hoard which also included gold and silver jewelry. The ingots weighed: 200.5g (2), 198.4g (2), 162.1g, 160g (3), 157.8g (11), 156.7g (7), 153.6g (2), and 108.6g.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 42, no. 179; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 104, no. 59, and p. 116, no. 97, and p. 119, no. 103; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 136, no. 145, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

69. *Pekaril Kniazha hora. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1899.* Several ingots were found—most were of very good silver but one, of the Kiev type and weighing 179.2g, was of low quality. Several were of the Kiev type and one was a heavy ingot of the Kiev type.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 30, no. 115; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 80, and p. 118, no. 100.

70. *Sakhnivka. Korsun'-Shevchenkivs'kyi raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1899.* Silver ingots were found.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 30, no. 117.

71. *Velyka Snitynka. Fastiv raion. Kiev oblast'. 1900.* Five silver ingots of the Kiev type (?) weighing 202.9g, 200.9g, 197.1g, 169.8g, and a cut ingot of 123.7g were found.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 28, no. 98; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 104, no. 60, and p. 116, no. 96.

72. *Sharky. Rokytne raion. Kiev oblast'. 1901.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type was found.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 28, no. 97; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 75.

73. *Pyshka. Korsun'-Shevchenkivs'kyi raion. Cherkasy oblast'. 1901.* A gold bar weighing ca. 64g, perhaps part of an ingot, was found in a burial mound along with other objects.

Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 29, no. 103.

74. *Kamianyi Brid. Baranivka raion. Zhytomyr oblast'. 1903.* Four silver ingots including one of the Kiev type weighing 169.8g and 3 long ingots of the same weight were found along with jewelry of the eleventh–twelfth centuries.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 30, no. 109; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 104, no. 61; Korzukhina, *Klady*, pp. 134-35, no. 138, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

75. *Tver'. 1906.* Ninety-five (or 96) regular silver ingots of the Kiev type were found as part of a treasure hoard. They weighed: 167.4g, 166.5g, 166.1g, 165.4g, 165.1g, 165g, 164.8g, 164.7g, 164.6g, 164.4g, 164.2g (2), 164g, 163.9g (3), 163.7g (2), 163.6g (2), 163.5g, 163.4g, 163.3g, 163.2g (3), 163.1g (2), 163g, 162.8g, 162.6g (3), 162.5g (3), 162.4g, 162.2g, 162.1g (3), 162g (2), 161.9g (4), 161.8g (3), 161.7g (3), 161.6g, 161.5g (2), 161.4g, 161.3g, 161.2g, 161.1g (2), 160.9g, 160.8g (2), 160.7g, 160.6g, 160.5g, 160.3g, 160.2g (2), 160g (2), 159.8g, 159.6g, 159.5g, 159.4g, 159.2g, 159.1g (2), 159g (2), 158.8g, 158.7g, 158.5g, 158.2g, 157.9g, 157.6g, 157.5g, 157.4g (2), 156.4g, 156g, 155.9g (2), 155.3g, and 154.9g. The hoard also included eight heavy ingots of the Kiev type weighing: 215.7g, 201.1g, 199.8g, 198.9g, 198.8g, 193.2g, 192.8g, and 191.8g.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* pp. 47-49, no. 206, mentions 106 ingots of the Kiev type: 98 weighed between 168g and 154.9g, 7 weighed between 215.6g and 189g, and 1 weighed 87.6g; Bauer, "Die Silber-," pp. 104–105, no. 62, and p. 118, no. 102, and p. 119, no. 104; Korzukhina, *Klady,* pp. 147-48, no. 170, says 138 total ingots divided as follows: 96 of the Kiev type weighing between 167.4g and 154.9g; 1 ingot weighing 154.6g; 8 ingots of the Kiev type weighing between 215.7g and 191.8g; 1 light ingot of the Kiev type weighing 87.7g; 12 ingots of the Novgorod type; 1 ingot of the Novgorod type; 14 ingots of the "West Russian" type; 4 unidentified ingots; and 1 bar. Korzukhina dates the hoard between the 1170s and 1240; Sotnikova and Spasskii, "Russkie klady," pp. 55-56, no. 19.

76. *Denysy. Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi raion. Kiev oblast'. 1912.* (See appendix A, no. 28; appendix B, no. 49; appendix C, no. 10) A silver ingot of undetermined form weighing 117.9g was part of a coin-treasure hoard.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 42, no. 180; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 82, no. 6; Sotnikova and Spasskii, "Russkie klady," p. 54, no. 9.

77. *Pekari. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast'. Pre-1917.* An ingot of the Novgorod type was found.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 30, no. 116.

78. *Zhytomyr. Pre-1921.* Two ingots of the Kiev type were found.

    Il'in, *Topografiia,* p. 15, no. 14; Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 106, no. 82.

79. *Chernihiv. 1923. A* silver ingot of the Kiev type weighing 160g was part of a hoard found in excavations around the Savior Cathedral.

    Bauer, "Die Silber-," p. 103, no. 56; Korzukhina, *Klady,* p. 138, no. 150, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

80. *Myropil'. Zhytomyr oblast'. 1938.* A silver ingot of the Kiev type weighing 149.8g was part of a hoard.

Korzukhina, *Klady*, p. 134, no. 137, where the hoard is dated between the 1170s and 1240.

81. *Find spots and dates unknown.* The Hermitage collection includes 14 silver ingots of the Kiev type weighing between 168.7g and 152.4g of unknown origin.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, "Russkie klady," p. 63.

APPENDIX E: Finds of Rus' Coins

1. ***Boryspil.*** *Kiev oblast' (formerly Poltava gubernia). Pre-1815.* A sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was found by a peasant.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 1.

2. *Vyshhorod. Kiev-Sviatoshyne raion. Kiev oblast'. 1935.* A sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was found during archaeological excavations.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 2.

3. *Zarichchia. Vasyl'kiv raion. Kiev oblast'. 1963-1964..* Two sribnyky of Volodimer, one type 1 and the other type 2, were found during archaeological excavations.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 3.

4. *Kiev. Ca. 1850. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 2, was acquired.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 4.

5. *Kiev. 1876.* A hoard of about 120 sribnyky of Volodimer, type 1, was found in the courtyard of L. N. Kushnerev.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 5.

6. *Kiev. 1894.* K. A. Stavronski found a sribnyk of Volodimer, type 2, on the Kyselivka Hill in the Podil.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 6.

7. *Denysy. Pereiaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi raion. Kiev oblast' (formerly Pereiaslav county. Poltava gubernia). 1912.* (See appendix A, no. 28; appendix B, no. 49; appendix C, no. 10; appendix D, no. 76) Six sribnyky of Volodimer, types 2-6, and one sribnyk with the name "Petor" were part of a large coin-treasure hoard.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 7.

8. *Lipliave. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast' (formerly Kaniv county. Poltava gubernia). 1913-1914. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 3, was found in during archaeological excavations.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 8.

9. *Pekari. Kaniv raion. Cherkasy oblast' (formerly Cherkasy county. Kiev gubernia). 1914. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 3, was found at the Kniazha hora townsite.

   Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 9.

10. *Velykyi Lystven'. Horodnia raion. Chernihiv oblast'. 1892. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was unearthed.

    Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 10.

11. *Vyshen'ky. Kozelets' raion. Chernihiv oblast'. Ca. 1882.. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 4, was found along the banks of the Dnieper.

    Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 55, no. 11.

12. *Nizhyn. Chernihiv oblast'. 1852.* A hoard of around 200 sribnyky was found, including Volodimer (types 2-4), Sviatopolk, and both types with the name of Peter.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* pp. 55-56, no. 12.

13. *Shores of the Dnieper lagoon. Forty versts from Kinburn. Kherson oblast'. Pre-1863.* Shepherds found a hoard containing 33 Byzantine gold coins and 3 zolotnyky of Volodimer.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie*, p. 56, no. 13.

14. *Radens'k. Tsiurupyns'k raion. Kherson oblast'. 1956.* A sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was found by an anthropological expedition.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 56, no. 14.

15. *Pinsk. Brest oblast'. Belorussian SSR. 1804. A* nobleman gave Tsar Alexander I 20 gold Byzantine coins from his lands. This hoard (?) apparently included 6 zolotnyky of Volodimer as well.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 56, no. 15.

16. *Parechye. Talochyn raion. Vitsiebsk oblast' (formerly Starotalochyn volost'. Mahilou gubernia). Belorussian SSR. 1886. A* fragment of a sribnyk of Volodimer, type 3, was part of a coin-treasure hoard.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 56, no. 16.

17. *Votnia. Bykhau raion. Mahilou oblast'. Belorussian SSR. 1873.* Four sribnyky of Volodimer, type 1, were found during the excavations of burial mounds.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 56, no. 17.

18. *Mitkovka. Klimovo raion. Briask oblast'. Russian SFSR. Early 1950s.* Thirteen sribnyky of Volodimer (types 1 and 2), Sviatopolk, and with the name Peter were found during unauthorized archaeological excavations of burial mounds.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie*, pp. 56-57, no. 18.

19. *Lipino. Kursk raion and oblast'. Russian SFSR. 1948. A* fragment of a sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was found during the archaeological excavations of burial mounds.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 19.

20. *Naginshchina. Slantsy raion. Leningrad oblast' (formerly Gdov county. St. Petersburg gubernia). Russian SFSR. 1895.* Included in a hoard of 1,018 silver coins deposited ca. 1055 was a sribnyk of Iaroslav with a Latin letter in the legend (a so-called Scandinavian imitation of Iaroslav's silver coins).

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 20.

21. *Molodi. Pskov raion and oblast'. Russian SFSR. 1878. A* fragment of a sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was found in a hoard of 3kg of coin fragments.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 21.

22. *Former Rostov county. Russian SFSR. 1823. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 4, was found.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 22.

23. *Tsimliansk. Tsimliansk raion. Rostov oblast'. Russian SFSR. 1887.* During archaeological excavations a badly broken sribnyk of Volodimer, type 3, was obtained from a local inhabitant.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 23.

24. *Raadi. Tartu raion (the former village of Rasthof near the city of Dorpat). Estonian SSR. 1838. A* sribnyk of Iaroslav was found.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 24.

25. *Island of Saaremaa (Oesel). Estonian SSR. After 1893.* A sribnyk of Iaroslav found on the island was given to I. I. Tolstoi.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 25.

26. *Dobra. Nowograd powiat. Pomerania. Poland. Pre-1894).* A sribnyk of Iaroslav was included in a hoard of West European deniers deposited no earlier than 1030.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 57, no. 26.

27. *Goszczyno or Sierpów. Łęczyca powiat. Kalisz wojewodztwo. Poland. 1850 or 1855. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 2, was included in a large coin hoard deposited ca. 1020-1025.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* pp. 57-58, no. 27.

28. *Rawicz. Poznan wojewodztwo. Poland. 1880. A* fragment of a sribnyk of Iaroslav was found in a large denier hoard deposited ca. 1040.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 58, no. 28.

29. *Schwaan. City of Rostock. Germany. 1859. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 2, was found in a very large coin hoard deposited around 1025.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 58, no. 29.

30. *Romsdal. Nasbo parish. Near Molde. Norway. 1891. A* sribnyk of Iaroslav with the Latin letter "R" in the legend was found in a coin hoard deposited around 1025.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 58, no. 30.

31. *Exact find site unknown. Sweden. 1858. A* sribnyk of Iaroslav with a Latin letter "R" in the legend was found in the holdings of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 58, no. 31.

32. *Visby. Island of Gotland. Sweden. 1938.* A sribnyk of Iaroslav was found in a denier hoard preserved in the local museum.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 58, no. 32.

33. *Grötlingbo. Island of Gotland. Sweden. Pre-1935. A* sribnyk of Iaroslav with the letter "R" in the legend was found in a hoard deposited around 1025.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie,* p. 58, no. 33.

34. *Sigsarve. Heide parish. Island of Gotland. Sweden. 1918. A* sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was found in a denier hoard deposited around 1055-1060.

Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie*, p. 58, no. 34.

35. *Unknown provenance. 1796.* A zolotnyk of Volodimer was purchased in Kiev.
    Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie*, p. 58, no. 35.

36. *Unknown provenance. Pre-1797.* A sribnyk of Iaroslav was acquired.
    Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie*, p. 58, no. 36.

37. *Unknown provenance. 1860*. A sribnyk of Volodimer, type 1, was part of a coin collection purchased by Iu. B. Iversen.
    Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie*, p. 58, no. 37.

38. *Unknown provenance. 1878.* A zolotnyk of Volodimer was purchased.
    Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie*, p. 58, no. 38.

The Christianization of Rus' in Soviet Historiography: Attitudes and Interpretations (1920-1960)*

DONALD OSTROWSKI

In examining the views of historians within the borders of the Soviet Union about the acceptance of Christianity in Rus', I have approached the topic, not as a Western scholar with preconceived ideas about Soviet historical views, but as a future historian might approach it, that is, relying almost solely on the internal evidence of the texts. In so doing, I have consciously restrained whatever inherent presuppositions I have or conclusions I have drawn from studying other aspects of Soviet historiography. My intent is primarily to establish what the unwritten "rules of the game" or attitudes of Soviet historians toward this topic have been. Secondarily, I seek to provide a basis for comparing these "rules," with the rules governing historiographic practice both in Western scholarship and in Soviet scholarship toward other topics.

My use of the term "rules of the game" is not meant as a value judgment. It is meant to convey the concept that historiography is subject to patterns of development, whether internally within the relevant scholarly community or externally through the impact of the society in which the historian lives. As such, historiography must be considered a vital part of intellectual history—a legitimate area of study for the *mentalites* of different cultures and eras.[1] By differentiating between the patterns of historiographic development, on the one hand, and the idiosyncratic views of individual historians, on the other, one can hope for a better understanding of what constitutes the Soviet historiographic tradition toward the coming of Christianity to the East Slavic peoples. In the process, I hope to demonstrate how historiographical study can contribute to the study of intellectual history.

The working hypothesis of this article is that it is not enough to look only at a historian's model or interpretation of the past in order to comprehend that historian's intellectual position. One must also evaluate

I intend to devote a separate article to the views of historians in the Soviet Union since 1960 toward Christianization.

[1] See, *inter alia,* Harry Elmer Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing,* 2nd ed., New York, 1962, p. ix: "a history of historical writing must necessarily be, to a large degree, a phase of the intellectual history of mankind."

each historian's views concerning what other historians have or have not accomplished, as well as examine each historian's approach to and treatment of the primary source base. Thus, in evaluating each historian's work, I investigated three areas: (1) the attitudes of each historian toward the work of other historians, including (a) pre-Revolutionary imperial historians, (b) foreign historians, and (c) other historians in the Soviet Union; (2) the attitudes of each historian to the sources in general as well as to specific sources; (3) the model that each historian describes concerning the acceptance of Christianity in Rus', especially (a) the relationship of Volodimer's conversion to previous Christianity in the area and (b) the relationship of Volodimer's conversion to Byzantine politics and economics. In investigating the third area, I wanted to determine whether Soviet historiography put greater emphasis on internal developments within Rus' or on influence from Constantinople.

To facilitate my study, I focused on five historians—S. V. Bakhrushin, I. U. Budovnits, B. D. Grekov, M. N. Pokrovskii, and M. N. Tikhomirov—rather than attempt a comprehensive survey. I have omitted the works of historians who write little about the acceptance of Christianity, except insofar as their works may have affected the views of these five. I will discuss in roughly chronological order the writings of the five historians on this question.

I

Neither Pokrovskii[2] nor Grekov[3] discuss the views of other historians on the Christianization in any detail. Pokrovskii mentions in rather dismissive terms the "fairy tales" that "modern historians" have extracted from the

[2] Pokrovskii presents his views on the Christianization of Rus' in his *Russkaia istoriia v samom szhatom ocherke. Ot drevneishikh vremen do vtoroi poloviny 19-go stoletiia* (Moscow, 1920). This work was republished in M. N. Pokrovskii, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia,* bk. 3 (Moscow, 1967). Pokrovskii does not discuss the Christianization directly in his other major survey, *Russkaia istoriia s drevneishikh vremen,* 5 vols. (Moscow, 1910-12).

[3] Grekov's discussion of this issue first appeared in his *Kievskaia Rus'* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1939), pp. 249-53. On the title page, this work is described as the "third edition, revised and supplemented." However, there was no first or second edition of *Kievskaia Rus'.* Instead, the third edition incorporates Grekov's earlier monograph *Feodal'nye otnosheniia v Kievskom gosudarstve* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1934, 1936), and doubles its size. Subsequent revisions of *Kievskaia Rus'* appeared in 1944, 1949, and 1953: B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1944); B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (Moscow, 1949); and B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (Moscow, 1953). Unaccountably, Mazour refers to the edition of 1949 as the "2nd ed.," although that was the third edition of *Kievskaia Rus'* and the fifth edition overall. Anatole G. Mazour, *The Writing of History in the Soviet Union* (Stanford, 1971), p. 55, fn. 20 All citations to *Kievskaia Rus'* are to the edition of 1939 unless otherwise noted.

chronicles, "fairy tales that even now may be read in the worthless history books distributed by the tsarist government."[4] While not citing any historian by name, Grekov does refer to other views through the device of "some. . . others. . .'' (одни... другие)[5] and, in the designation of two views, ''first . . . second . . ." (первый... второй).[6]

In 1937, a Soviet government commission establishing rules for writing history for high school textbooks wrote that the "introduction of Christianity was progressive in comparison with pagan barbarianism."[7] The practice of citing the pronouncements of official committees for scholarly opinions may seem a little odd to a Western scholar, yet a survey of Soviet historiography published in 1978 cites the same commission, as well as the pronouncement of the Committee for Artistic Matters published 14 November 1936, which decreed that the acceptance of Christianity was "a positive stage in the history of the Russian people."[8]

References to such official declarations as the pronouncement of 14 November 1936, are significant. The pronouncement itself seemed to allow the publication in the Soviet Union of discussion of the Christianization process.[9] Indeed, S. V. Bakhrushin begins his article on the baptism of Kievan Rus'[10] with a reference to the same pronouncement (as well as to an earlier one of 16 May 1934 that bore the names of Stalin, Zhdanov, and Kirov) and sees it as a charge to Soviet historians for "the overthrow of the

4 Pokrovskii, *Russkaia istoriia* (1920), p. 36.

5 That is, "some believe that this [baptism] occurred in the Dnieper, others say that the Kievans were baptized in the Pochaina—a tributary of the Dnieper." Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 249.

6 In reference to the letter of Patriarch Photius: "In our science . . . there are two views: first, that the remarks of Photius apply basically to Kiev, since Kiev was then the main center of Rus'; second, that he spoke about Tmutorokan' Rus', closest to Byzantium." Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), pp. 250-51.

7 The text of the pronouncement can be found in "Postanovlenie zhiuri pravil'stvennoi komissii po konkursu na luchshii uchebnik dlia 3- i 4-go klassov srednei shkoly po istorii SSSR," *K izucheniiu istorii. Sbornik* (Moscow, 1937), p. 38. The pronouncement originally appeared in *Pravda*, 22 August 1937.

8 *Sovetskaia istoriografiia Kievskoi Rusi* (Leningrad, 1978), p. 173.

9 Within three years, a number of items devoted specifically to this topic appeared: A. Kozachenko, "Kreshchenie Rusi," *Istoricheskii zhurnal* 1 (1937): 71-83; B. Belopol'skii and A. Taidyshko, *Kreshchenie Rusi* (Leningrad, 1939); R. V. Zhdanov, "Kreshchenie Rusi i Nachal'naia letopis'," *Istoricheski zapiski* 5 (1939): 3-30; M. Iankovskii, "Kreshchenie Rusi," *Uchenie zapiski LGU,* 1939, no. 36, pp. 45-61.

10 S. V. Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," *Istorik-Marksist*, 1937, bk. 2, pp. 40-77.

mistaken anti-scientific views of the so-called 'historical school of M. N. Pokrovksii.' ''[11]

Bakhrushin exhibits a mixed attitude toward the pre-Revolutionary historians. He seems disappointed in Solov'ev, "the greatest bourgeois historian," for not freeing himself from the mindset of the chroniclers who present the acceptance of Christianity in Rus' as "a psychological aspect in the personal life of Prince Volodimer." However, Bakhrushin goes on to argue: "Solov'ev was too great a scholar. . . not to attempt a broader conceptualization." Bakhrushin commends what he sees as Solov'ev's "attempt to connect the baptism with a definite stage in the history of the social life of the East Slavs."[12] While Bakhrushin emphasizes that he is writing his article against Pokrovskii's ideas, there is nothing in Bakhrushin's assessment of Solov'ev that Pokrovskii would have disagreed with in principle.[13]

Likewise, Bakhrushin seems surprised that "[e]ven E. E. Golubinskii, the most radical of Russian Church historians," presented the conversion to Christianity from the psychological viewpoint of Volodimer, who "from the very beginning of his reign was already more or less inclined toward Christianity." However, as in his evaluation of Solov'ev, Bakhrushin sees a positive aspect in Golubinskii's treatment, in that "he accurately (верно) perceived the necessity of studying the question of the baptism in connection with the history of the formation of the state (государства).''[14]

In contrast, Bakhrushin has a low opinion of the writing of the "so-called 'liberal' bourgeois" historians who, although they were opposed to the Church as a feudal institution, nonetheless contributed little to the discussion. Indeed, according to Bakhrushin, Miliukov obfuscated the historical significance of the baptism by arguing that it did not change anything in Kievan Rus' because "the masses remained pagan as before.''[15]

Bakhrushin points to Nikol'skii as the first to attempt "to construct the history of the baptism anew, in the spirit of 'economic materialism.' ''[16] But Bakhrushin faults Nikol'skii for not being able "to give a Marxist, that is, the only scientific, formulation of the question." Because Nikol'skii was still under the "nihilist" influence of the liberal historiography, wrote

11 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi,'' p. 40.
12 Bakhrushin, ''K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 41.
13 See, e.g., M. N. Pokrovskii, *Istoricheskaia nauka i bor'ba klassov* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1933), pp. 298-99, where he argues that "one almost need not translate it [any conscientious historical work] into Marxist language; it already is Marxist."
14 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 42.
15 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 42.
16 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 42.

Bakhrushin, he saw Christianity as "purely external, completely foreign, and not suitable to 'the circumstances of life in the Dnieper area.' " It was introduced by the greedy Byzantine clergy, who were looking for "new sources of revenue." Bakhrushin argues that Nikol'skii's emphasis here on Byzantium contradicts two other assertions that he makes: (1) that "trade interests quickly forced the Varangians and Slavs to abandon the old paganism"; and (2) that "the Church organization put into the hands. . . of the merchant-retinue strata a new weapon for the rapacious exploitation of the subjugated tribes."[17] What is important here for our concerns is not whether these are contradictory propositions in Nikol'skii's model, but that Bakhrushin perceived them as such. That is, either Christianity was foisted on the Rus' by the greedy Byzantine clergy, *or* it was the result of economic and political developments within Rus'; it could not be both, for there is no middle ground that would accommodate an amalgamation of these propositions in Bakhrushin's view of the problem.

Nor, according to Bakhrushin, does Pokrovskii formulate the question any better. Bakhrushin argues that although Pokrovskii "uncovered the essence of Christianity, exposing it as a weapon in the hands of the ruling class," he nonetheless saw "the baptism of Rus' [as] completely antihistorical."[18] Because Pokrovskii failed to see the "progressive role" that Christianity played, he inclined to a view similar to that of liberal historiography, namely, that the acceptance of Christianity had no significance.

Bakhrushin sees N. A. Rozhkov as a historian who tried to make a break with the clerical tradition and who also adopted the posture of an economic materialist, but who gave an "extremely simplified conception of the baptism of Rus'." Bakhrushin goes on to argue that Rozhkov was a "typical eclectic," who attempted to bring into agreement the negative views of the liberal historiography and the positive views of the idealists, like Solov'ev. Thus, Rozhkov sees two stages in Volodimer's religious reform: a negative one, when he fails to unite all the class gods into one pagan pantheon, and a positive one, when Christianity wins out, because it was "incomparably more organized through social and moral means than paganism."[19]

Bakhrushin thus argues that there are two major trends in the historiography of this question (presumably leaving out the liberal negative view): the purely idealist trend, which looked at the acceptance of Christianity as a phenomenon in morality and its triumph as part of a Volodi-

17 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 43.
18 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 43.
19 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 43.

merian psychological drama; and the "vulgar" economic materialist trend, practiced by those who did not know how to apply the dialectic to Christianity. Bakhrushin asserts that his own article is the first attempt to examine the question concerning the baptism in a scientific, that is, Marxist way. Clearly, Bakhrushin had no compunction about criticizing previous Soviet historiography, nor about using ideology as a weapon in his scholarly arsenal, in contrast to Budovnits and Tikhomirov, both of whom avoided that use.

Budovnits published an article in 1956 (hereafter "K voprosu"),[20] and then extensively revised it for inclusion as a chapter (hereafter "Kreshchenie") of his book on social and political thought published in 1960.[21] These two versions enrich the discussion of Budovnits's views, as we have material for speculating why Budovnits made the revisions he did. For example, in his discussion of the acceptance of Christianity in Rus', Budovnits in "K voprosu" mentions the edition of Grekov's *Kievskaia Rus'* published in 1949[22] and refers to no later work.[23] In "Kreshchenie," Budovnits updates the reference to Grekov's *Kievskaia Rus'* to 1953,[24] but includes no post–1953 work in this chapter. On the basis of textual evidence alone, one could conclude that Budovnits finished work on "K voprosu" as early as 1949, but that it was not published until six years later. Likewise, he may have finished work on "Kreshchenie" as early as 1953, seven years before publication. It would appear that Budovnits should have had time to update the reference to Grekov's *Kievskaia Rus'* from 1949 to 1953 for an article published in 1956. However, the issue of the periodical *Voprosy istorii religii i ateizma* containing "K voprosu" had been sent to the typesetter (дано в набор) on 13 July 1954, which might indicate that Budovnits had the option of updating the citation but decided not to either because the concomitant revisions in the text would be too extensive or because the change was irrelevant. On the other hand, in "Kreshchenie," Budovnits revised his treatment (although no major revisions were made in the 1953 edition of *Kievskaia Rus'*)[25] by toning down the ideological content of his summary of Grekov's views. For example:

20 I. U. Budovnits, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Rusi," *Voprosy istorii religii i ateizma. Sbornik statei* 3 (1956): 402-34.

21 I. U. Budovnits, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia mysl' drevnei Rusi: XI–XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 75-102.

22 Budovnits, "K voprosu," p. 407, fn. 2.

23 See "K voprosu," p. 429, fn. 3 where he cites *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, ed. S. N. Valk (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949).

24 Budovnits, "Kreshchenie," p. 80, fn. 15.

25 Cf. Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'*, pp. 471-75 and Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'*, pp. 475-80.

"K voprosu" (1956)	"Kreshchenie" (1960)
Although the popular masses *led the anti-feudal struggle under the banner of the* old religion ... (p. 407)	Although the popular masses *stood for* the old religion . . . (p. 80)

A comparison of "K voprosu" with "Kreshchenie," leads one to conclude that Budovnits was a perfectionist who fiddled with his text until the last possible moment. For example, in *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia mysl'*, Budovnits includes a reference to a work published in 1960, when his book was already v *nabore*.[26] A likely explanation is that something occurred between 1954, when "K voprosu" was typeset, and 1960, when "Kreshchenie" was published, that led Budovnits to modify his text. Such a conclusion is important for my investigation because, if we eliminate the likelihood of Budovnits's personal reassessment of Grekov's work, we are left with "the thaw" as a possible explanation, that is, that changes in the politics of the society in which Budovnits lived had an impact on his work and allowed him to write in a way that was less blatantly ideological.

Budovnits is critical of "gentry-bourgeois historiography," including N. M. Karamzin, S. M. Solov'ev, and S. F. Platonov. He perceives their arguments about the acceptance of Christianity as a biased favoring of the new faith over paganism. Instead, he argues, they should explain why Christianity, if it was so superior, was not accepted in Rus' before Volodimer. After all, Budovnits argues, "in the ninth century and first half of the tenth century in Byzantium there were enough experienced and articulate missionary-philosophers," yet the Byzantines were not able to convert Oleg to Christianity.

A noteworthy alteration in "Kreshchenie" of "K voprosu" is the inclusion in "Kreshchenie" of a critique of the pre-Revolutionary work of V. A. Parkhomenko.[27] It is not likely that Budovnits did not know of Parkhomenko's work when he wrote "K voprosu," and only learned about it by the time he revised it for "Kreshchenie." Parkhomenko was a fairly well-known historian and a colleague of Budovnits. What occurred in the meantime that Budovnits felt obliged to include criticisms of Parkhomenko's pre-Revolutionary work? Why did he choose not to

26 Budovnits, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia mysl'*, p. 42, fn. 35. This particular reference was to a work published by Tikhomirov, which raises the question why Budovnits did not include in "Kreshchenie" mention of Tikhomirov's article on the Christianization of Rus', which appeared in 1959.

27 See, especially, V. A. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi* (Poltava, 1913), pp. 75-189.

mention the work Parkhomenko published during the Soviet period? As an answer to the latter question, one must rule out the idea that Parkhomenko wrote about different topics during the Soviet period, because Parkhomenko published an article in 1940 precisely about the topic under discussion: "The Character and Significance of the Epoch of Volodimer Who Accepted Christianity."[28] We can also rule out in this case the possible hypothesis that Budovnits felt any compunction about criticizing a living colleague, since Parkhomenko died in 1942 during the siege of Leningrad. Budovnits might have been hesitant about leveling criticism at colleagues for their pre-Revolutionary writings, especially if these criticisms might be taken as ideologically, rather than scholarly, motivated. During the period of "the thaw," in contrast, Budovnits may have felt that criticisms of a historian's pre-Revolutionary work would be more likely to be understood in a scholarly sense. He may not have wished to take that risk, however, in critiquing works of colleagues published since the October Revolution.[29]

Budovnits went on to scold the gentry-bourgeois historians for ignoring the internal development of Rus' society and their tendency to reduce important historical events to (1) spiritual crises of separate individuals, (2) personal sympathies and inclinations, (3) effective impressions, (4) naive imitation, and (5) mechanical borrowing of cultural benefits from neighbors who were more developed. Budovnits asserts that Soviet historiography did try to connect the phenomenon of Christianization with social development, and that the first historian to do so was Bakhrushin in 1937. This last assertion is remarkable for two reasons. First, Budovnits does not explain how Bakhrushin connected the acceptance of Christianity with internal social developments. Indeed, he criticizes Bakhrushin for overemphasizing the role of Byzantium not only in the Christianization process, but even in his "huge mistake" of describing *Slovo o polku Igoreve* as having been compiled according to the forms of translated poesy; thus, Bakhrushin "completely ignored the national source of development of the culture of Kievan

28 V. A. Parkhomenko, "Kharakter i znachenie epokhi Vladimira, priniavshego khristianstvo," *Uchenie zapiski LGU*, 1940, no. 73, pt. 8, pp. 203-214.

29 A similar consideration may have led to Budovnits's not mentioning Tikhomirov's article on the origins of Christianity in Rus', although he may have had an implicit disagreement with Tikhomirov's views (see below). Another possibility is that since Tikhomirov's article appeared abroad, it might not have reached Budovnits for some time. One would also like to know more about the relationship between Budovnits and Tikhomirov, specifically whether Tikhomirov would have shown Budovnits a rough draft of that article, and about the incidence of Soviet historians' citing the works of Soviet colleagues published abroad.

Rus'."[30] Such statements by Budovnits contrast with his hesitancy in criticizing the works of other historians in the Soviet Union, so his views on the issue must have been strong. Second, Budovnits does not mention the work of Rozhkov, Nikol'skii, Pokrovskii, or Priselkov, all of whom made some attempt to connect Christianization with broader considerations than the impact of one individual's decision. While Budovnits might have considered Nikol'skii and Priselkov bourgeois specialists, certainly Rozhkov and Pokrovskii could not be classified so. Besides, Nikol'skii's views on Christianization for the most part coincide with those of Pokrovskii. Perhaps Budovnits meant that Bakhrushin was the first to attempt such a connection in any detail. In any event, by foregoing discussion of the views of these other historians, Budovnits manages to avoid some swampy ground.

A last notable aspect of Budovnits's discussion of the acceptance of Christianity in Rus' is his quoting in "K voprosu" from the rules of 1936 about writing history for high school textbooks.[31] Budovnits dropped this citation in "Kreshchenie," an omission that may represent changing attitudes toward the Cult of Personality during the late 1950s.

Tikhomirov, in an article published in 1959, in describing the coming of Christianity to Rus',[32] adopts a guardedly positive attitude toward the works of pre-Revolutionary Church historians. He mentions the works of Metropolitan Makarii (Bulgakov) and Golubinskii as "especially noteworthy." But Tikhomirov points out that it had been fifty years since the publication of Golubinskii's works and that "many of his views are out of date and in need of revision." Tikhomirov does not explicitly mention ideological considerations here, although he could have. That is, he does not criticize Makarii and Golubinskii for un-Marxist, pre-Marxist, or anti-Marxist views, but leaves open the possibility that subsequent research alone may have rendered many of their views obsolete. Tikhomirov might have used this same formula in assessing any previous historiography without implying any deficiency in it. Such a formulation is in keeping with the Soviet view that scientific study should be cumulative and progressive.

In contrast, Tikhomirov's attitude toward works published beyond the borders of the Soviet Union is decidedly negative. He castigates Baumgarten, Paszkiewicz, and Stender-Petersen for works that "are extremely tendentious," for their "almost total rejection of the Russian sources," and

30 "K voprosu," p. 407; "Kreshchenie," p. 79.
Budovnits, "K voprosu," p. 434.
32 M. N. Tikhomirov, "The Origins of Christianity in Russia," *History* 44 (1959): 199–211.

their "inadequate knowledge of Russian Church practice and of Russian literature."

Toward historians in the Soviet Union, Tikhomirov expresses less a criticism than a comment that their treatments of Christianity in Rus' have "deal[t] with specialized aspects," and that even Grekov "deal[s] but briefly with the baptism of Russia in 989."[33] Tikhomirov's comment could support two alternate interpretations. The less generous interpretation would argue that because of the anti-religious attitude of the Soviet government, historians have found it difficult to discuss questions of religious history. The more generous interpretation would argue that scholars in the Soviet Union have dug deeper into specifics of the topic but have not yet synthesized their results. However, Tikhomirov chooses in this context not to mention the works of Pokrovskii, Bakhrushin, and Budovnits, all of whom could be considered to have attempted a synthesis. As I will argue below, Tikhomirov may have had serious disagreements with the views of each of these scholars concerning their views on the Christianization process and use of sources, but he may have chosen not to air his disagreement explicitly in an article published abroad.

II

Neither Pokrovskii nor Grekov discusses fontology very much in general or on this particular issue. Pokrovskii maintains that the chroniclers were biased in their praise of the Rus' princes not only because they were courtiers. To support his claim that very few laymen in Rus' were literate, he points out that there is no mention in the *Rus'skaia pravda* of written contracts. Therefore, "all literary work was done by the clergy," who were indebted to the princes and boyars for their support of the Church.[34]

Grekov's fontological approach to this issue can only be described as uncritical. He refers five times to "our [or "the] chronicler," without specifying the *Pověst' vremennykh let* (*PVL*). He finds the "dramatized form" in which "the chronicler" tells "how Volodimer became familiar with various faiths" to be "quite plausible."[35] He cites the Treaty of 945 as evidence that "from the beginning of the tenth century, Christianity in Kiev was well known."[36] He refers to the sermons of Hilarion and Kirill of

[33] Tikhomirov, "The Origins of Christianity in Russia," p. 199. Note that Tikhomirov places the conversion a year later than the traditional date of 988.

[34] Pokrovskii, *Russkaia istoriia*, p. 36.

[35] Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 250.

[36] Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 251. Subsequent editions change the date of the treaty to 944: *Kievskaia Rus'* (1944), p. 278; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1949), p. 473; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1953), p. 477.

Turov as indications of the "level of culture attained by the [only] layer of society that at that time had the possibility to be taught."[37] And he chooses the *Sermon on Law and Grace* as well as the *Tale of Igor' 's Campaign* for special praise. At no point does he indicate that there might be any problem with the source base.

Both Bakhrushin and Budovnits discuss the source base more extensively than Pokrovskii and Grekov, and are more cautious about accepting the testimony of the sources at their face value.

Bakhrushin points out the absence of contemporary Rus' source testimony about the conversion; the earliest source testimony dates to the period after the death of Volodimer in 1015. He dismisses the *Eulogy to Volodimer*, attributed to Metropolitan Hilarion, as being pure panegyric and of being "more important for the history of Iaroslav the Wise, in whose honor it was composed, than for the history of his father."[38] But he reserves most of his discussion to assessing and dismissing the reliability of the main source for the Christianization, that is the *Tale about Prince Volodimer,* contained in the *PVL*. Drawing on previous analysis by S. G. Vasil'evskii, Bakhrushin points out the similarities and parallels between the information contained in the *PVL*, on the one side, and Khazarian religious folklore, the *Life of Cyril*, and a tenth-century Arabic narrative about the conversion of the Khazars to Islam, on the other. Bakhrushin asserts that even the aphorism about the Rus' loving to drink, "in which other serious investigators have seen an expression of the 'national' Russian joy,. . . has its prototype in the literature of Islamic propaganda among the Khazars."[39]

Furthermore, Bakhrushin sees the literature of other neighboring peoples, including Greek and South Slavic legends and Scandinavian epics, as being the sources for other motifs in the chronicle account. He concludes that, as a result, it is impossible to find any reliable historical facts in these legends and that the account of the conversion "was not written in Rus' during the life of Volodimer, but was reconstructed in a literary way significantly later when the details were already forgotten."[40] Even when Bakhrushin seems willing to accept the testimony of an indigenous Rus' source, it is done so only in relation to the chronicle account. That is, if the testimony of the *Life of Volodimer* or Iakov's *Eulogy to Volodimer* differs from the *Tale about Volodimer* in the chronicle, then Bakhrushin argues that the compiler had access to more reliable information from earlier

37 Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus* (1939), p. 252.
38 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 45.
39 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 49.
40 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 50.

sources that are no longer extant. If their testimony agrees with that of the chronicle, then Bakhrushin argues they were unduly influenced by the chronicle account.

Such an assessment of the main indigenous Rus' sources by a historian in the Soviet Union is remarkable in terms of its coming at a time when a resurgence of Russian nationalism was occurring. This national resurgence helps to explain the government's issuing decrees encouraging the study of the religious past. Bakhrushin's article was easily the most important article on the conversion to result from that national resurgence. Especially noteworthy is the fact that it appears in the journal *Istorik-Marksist*, which would seem to indicate that it had official approval. Yet, not only is Bakhrushin dismissing the main indigenous sources as unreliable and as literary constructs, but he also points to foreign sources, such as Greek, Arabic, and Armenian, as being "very important for us" and as more reliable for understanding the Christianization process. One of Tikhomirov's criticisms of non-Soviet scholars was their "almost total rejection of Russian sources" (see above). Thus, Tikhomirov's criticism may also be an implicit criticism of this same rejection of the indigenous sources by Bakhrushin.

Like Bakhrushin, Budovnits is circumspect about accepting the testimony of the sources. He points out that when the chronicle compilations were being made in the 1030s and 1040s, Christianity had already been established for some time in Rus'. This means that for Budovnits Christian ideology had taken over the consciousness of the feudal class as well as that of the Church hierarchy, which acted as a transmission belt for the ruling class.[41] Budovnits discerns a number of legends about missionary activity in the chronicles. Furthermore, he sees as unreliable the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who describes the baptism of Rus' during the reign of Basil the Macedonian and the partriarchate of Ignatius: "in it, it is difficult to discover even a kernel of truth."[42] Also like Bakhrushin, Budovnits tends to accept non-Rus' sources as being more reliable than the Rus' sources. Budovnits treats the Encyclical of 867 by Patriarch Photius about a Rus' bishop in 860 as reliable, arguing that it is "hardly likely that Photius would make up such an episode in an official document."[43] But this conclusion hides an assumption that the letter both is official and is what it purports to be, that is, not deceptive, either genuinely or apparently so. Although Budovnits cites Arabic sources that testify to Christianity among

41 "K voprosu," p. 402; "Kreshchenie," p. 75.
42 "K voprosu," p. 409; "Kreshchenie," p. 81.
43 "K voprosu," p. 409; "Kreshchenie," p. 81.

the Slavs in the 840s and first half of the tenth century, and although he acknowledges that the Treaty of 945 with the Greeks testifies to Christians among the Rus', he does not think it sufficient to conclude that these Christians constituted a political party in Rus', or that Igor' was a crypto-Christian, as suggested by Golubinskii and Priselkov. Finally, Budovnits is convinced that the chronicler was a Normanist who tried to emphasize the extent of Christianity in Rus' before Volodimer,[44] although he does not explain why a Normanist would want to do so.

Tikhomirov was one of the premier fontologists in the Soviet Union. Yet, in this article we find very little evidence of a critical evaluation of the source base. Instead, Tikhomirov cites sources randomly and haphazardly. Such random references may be a result of the particular genre—a sketchy overview in article form—in which he is writing. For example, he cites the *Life of Avraamii* as though it provides reliable historical information. On occasion he cites the *Pověst' vremennykh let* but on other occasions, although he takes his information directly from the *PVL,* he makes no citation, as when he repeats almost verbatim the passage under the year 1037 about Iaroslav's translating from Greek into Slavonic.[45] In effect, Tikhomirov's treatment of the sources seems to represent a return to the uncritical acceptance of the testimony of indigenous Rus' sources that Grekov represented.

III

Pokrovskii's model is the simplest of the historians discussed here: "as a ruling class formed itself in Rus' cities, it began to turn its back on the religious ceremonies and medicine-men of the Slavs." The ruling class, made up of princes and boyars, imported along with Greek economic items "Greek ceremonies and Greek medicine men, i.e., Christian priests." Thus, the Christian Church, which, according to Pokrovskii's model, owed its wealth and presence in Rus' to the ruling class, overemphasized the importance of the so-called conversion. Pokrovskii sees the change as "purely superficial," merely "a new set of religious ceremonies," because "religious beliefs remained the same after the conversion as before it."[46] In accord with his model that economic gain was the motive behind Christianization, Pokrovskii asserts "incidentally" that "in the Old Rus' monastery

44 "K voprosu," p. 410; "Kreshchenie," p. 82.
45 Tikhomirov, "The Origins of Christianity in Russia," p. 210. The standard interpretation of this passage has since been challenged by Horace G. Lunt, "On Interpreting the Russian Primary Chronicle: The Year 1037," *Slavonic and East European Journal* 32 (1988): 251–64.
46 Pokrovskii, *Russkaia istoriia* (1920), p. 36.

nothing was done without making a donation" and furthermore that "it was impossible to become a monk without paying money." Pokrovskii concludes that "they were all drunk with the same mercenary spirit as was the entire life of the Old Rus' town."[47] Whether or not one agrees with Pokrovskii's harsh assessment, one must admit that he does try to connect the bringing of Christianity to Rus' with internal economic and political developments, and he sees the prime movers (although acting merely as agents of economic forces) to be the Rus' princes and boyars, not the Byzantine clergy or emperors.

Grekov, like Pokrovskii, places emphasis on internal developments in Rus', but he presents a more intricate model than Pokrovskii does. Grekov sees Kievan Rus' of the period being transformed from a tribal society into a class society. The ideology of the tribal society required a faith, paganism, that "had nothing to do with classes and did not demand the subjugation of man by man."[48] Christianity, on the other hand, was a class religion that began to penetrate Rus' "from the ninth century."[49] Grekov sees "complications," however, as both Sviatoslav and initially Volodimer were opposed to the new religion. Here Grekov brings in the idea (rejected by Bakhrushin as a negative throwback to liberal historiography) that Volodimer planned "to gather all the gods that the various tribes worshipped and to create of them a pantheon in Kiev" in order to consolidate the position of the state.[50] Grekov remarks that "a certain part of Rus' was familiar with Christianity as early as the ninth century,"[51] and that, from the testimony of a letter of Patriarch Photius, "it is not improbable. .. it was the Kievan state already taking shape at that time''—that is, the reference is to Kievan Rus', not to Tmutorokan', as some others have argued.[52] Grekov thinks it

47 Pokrovskii, *Russkaia istoriia* (1920), p. 38.

48 Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 249.

49 Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 250. Grekov seemed to have some problem determining exactly when Christianity began to penetrate to Rus'. In the edition of 1944, the preposition "from" (c) was changed to "before" *(BO)*, SO that the sentence reads "Christianity began to penetrate to us before the ninth century": *Kievskaia Rus'* (1944), p. 277. In the editions of 1949 and 1953, the sentence was changed again so that it reads: "Christianity began to penetrate to us long before the tenth century" (задолго до X века): *Kievskaia Rus'* (1949), p. 471; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1953), p. 476.

50 Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 250.

51 The verb "was familiar with" (познакомилась) was used in the editions of 1939 and 1944: *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 251; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1944), p. 278. In the editions of 1949 and 1953, that verb was changed to "had adopted" (приняла): *Kievskaia Rus'* (1949), p. 472; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1953), p. 477. The change increases the strength of the early impact that Christianity had on Rus'.

52 Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 251. In subsequent editions the phrase "taking shape. .." (складывающеес) was dropped: *Kievskaia Rus'* (1944), p. 278; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1949), p. 472. In the edition of 1953, "Kievan state" was changed to "Old Rus' state"

important that by the late tenth century the Rus' rulers felt obliged to make Christianity the state religion. The establishment of Christianity, according to Grekov, "signified that the ruling class was sufficiently strong and numerous so that it wielded mighty power."[53] The adoption of Christianity was not "the concern of individuals," but was prepared by "all the preceding history of classes in the Kievan state."[54] Thus, Grekov sees the introduction of Christianity as a positive factor in the development of the Rus' state.

One notices an apparent inconsistency in Grekov's model. If Christianity was known/adopted in Rus' as early as the ninth century, and if it was resisted by the rulers, who were all pagans (except for Ol'ga who was baptized late in life), then why would the ruling class feel obligated to recognize Christianity as the state religion at the end of the tenth century? If they did so because Christianity had made such great inroads among the population or because they were forced by historical and economic forces, then that leaves unexplained why the adoption of Christianity showed the strength of that ruling class. The exact opposite would appear to be the case—that the ruling class was too weak to exert its own program. Nor is it clear in Grekov's model why the general population would demand a religion that exploited them. Even if Grekov meant merely that Christianity made inroads among the ruling class, then that would seem to indicate a ruling class divided between Christians and pagans—hardly an indication of strength.

In addition, Grekov's model allows him to argue that "[i]n the eleventh century, Rus' was not a backward country" and that it "moved

(Древнерусское государство): *Kievskaia Rus'* (1953), p. 477. Both these changes lend themselves to creating the impression that the Rus' state was formed early and was not limited to Kiev and its immediate environs.

The allusion to Tmutorokan' here may be to the views of Vernadsky, who attached importance to the role of Tmutorokan' in early Rus' history. See, e.g., George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1973), pp. 64–69. If so, the form of the response would seem to indicate that a method of dealing with historical views propagated outside the Soviet Union is to reject the idea without mentioning the historian who propagated it or to speak of the work of a foreign historian with a dismissive tone but not discuss the substance of it. It is unusual for Soviet historians to discuss the views of foreign historians on Christianization in any detail.

53 Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus* (1939), p. 251.

54 The editions of 1939, 1944, and 1949 all read thus: Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus* (1939), p. 251; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1944), p. 279; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1949), p. 473. The edition of 1953 adds after "classes" the phrase "and the process of feudalization" (процесс феодализации) and changes "Kievan state" (Киевское государство) to "Old Rus' state" (Древнерусское государство): *Kievskaia Rus'* (1953), p. 478.

ahead of many European countries."[55] He bases this argument on his idea that Rus' skipped the slave-owning stage of historical development by jumping from a tribal (or primitive communism) stage directly into feudalism, not unlike how the Bolsheviks were going to leapfrog Russia from the feudal stage over the bourgeois stage right into socialism. However, Grekov's allegiance to this idea tied him to the concept that Christianity, as an ideology reflective of the economic base, had to have been adopted in Rus' earlier than in many other European states.

Bakhrushin, like Pokrovskii, sees the agents for the introduction of Christianity into Rus' to be the boyars, the "prince's men," such as the Varangian mercenaries "who served as living connections between Kiev and Scandinavia and Byzantium."[56] In addition, Bakhrushin places emphasis on the "town elders" who were receptive to the introduction of a feudal-type religion in order to strengthen their feudal positions. He argues that although there is evidence of Christianity in Rus' territory in the ninth century, and although the Treaty of 945 with the Greeks indicates some Christians among the Rus' entourage, it was only during the time of Volodimer when "the first elements of the state as an organized whole began to take shape" that Christianity could be adopted in Kievan Rus'.[57] Thus, Bakhrushin concludes that the baptism of 988 was not the result of a gradual, long-term process or of the chance conversion of one man, Volodimer, but rather a "very well-thought out political step, which had as its goal the strengthening and consolidation of the rising state" by elite elements in that society.[58]

Both Budovnits and Tikhomirov, in contrast to Bakhrushin, emphasize the long process of the Christianization of Rus'. In this respect, their views are closer to that of Grekov. Tikhomirov places such emphasis on the process that he tends to downplay the year 989, that is, "the official date of the establishment of Christianity" as only the date of "the most prominent event in the process. . . the recognition of Christianity as the

55 The editions of 1939 and 1944 read this way: *Kievskaia Rus'* (1939), p. 253; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1944), p. 280. The editions of 1949 and 1953 add the adverb "culturally" so that the sentence reads: "In the eleventh century, Rus' was not a culturally (культурно) backward country." *Kievskaia Rus'* (1949), p. 475; *Kievskaia Rus'* (1953), p. 480.

56 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 54. Bakhrushin, since his article is aimed at refuting the views of Pokrovskii, does not point out those areas of agreement with Pokrovskii.

57 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," p. 58.

58 Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," pp. 59-60.

official religion."[59] He argues that it took "more than a century" after that for Christianity to become "truly established" in Rus'. However, Tikhomirov places "the first conversion" of "the Southern branch of the Eastern Slavs" around the year 860, the time of the Rus' attack on Constantinople. In his dating of "the first conversion," Tikhomirov is in agreement with Grekov's assertion that a certain part of Rus' adopted Christianity at that time. But Tikhomirov is less willing than Grekov to argue that this was the Rus' state that had converted, preferring to leave it an open question as to precisely who was converted.

Budovnits also sees "the baptism of Rus' " as "a long process of the spread of Christianity among the population of the Rus' state; it began long before Volodimer and was not completed by him."[60] Yet, as is clear from his criticism of Parkhomenko, Budovnits did not feel that Christianity made much headway among the ruling elite until Volodimer. In contrast to Tikhomirov, Budovnits accepts the year 988 as the date of the official adoption of Christianity in Rus'.

IV

As a preliminary summing up, I venture to suggest that Soviet historiography has gone through three phases of development. The first phase included the works of Rozhkov, Nikol'skii, Pokrovskii, and, to a certain extent, Grekov. Although schematic formulations characterized this phase, a definite attempt was made to connect the process of Christianization with internal economic and political developments in Rus'. The second phase, represented mainly by Bakhrushin, and to a lesser extent by Kozachenko, Belopol'skii and Taidyshko, Zhdanov, and Iankovskii, saw a greater emphasis on a detailed discussion of separate issues, as well as a rejection of previous Soviet historiography (especially the views of Pokrovskii), as well as a critical attitude toward the reliability of indigenous Rus' sources. The third phase, represented by Budovnits and Tikhomirov, attempted to find some common ground between a schematic formulation and the analysis of detail. Ironically, Soviet historical writings on the coming of Christianity to Rus' went through a dialectical process of its own, the expression of which seems to be more directly related to political changes than to economic changes in the society.

My tentative conclusion is that, if the attitudes and interpretations of historians in the Soviet Union toward the Christianization of Rus' are any

59 Tikhomirov, "The Origins of Christianity in Russia," p. 200.
60 Budovnits, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Rusi," p. 409.

kind of indicator, then anyone who deals with historiography as a form of intellectual history might do well to pay attention not only to historians' models of the past (how they think events may have occurred), but also to their opinions of other historians' works (even to the point of whether they mention them or not), and to their approach and treatment of the source base. Of these three, perhaps treatment and evaluation of the sources and of the information they contain is the most valuable indicator of a particular historian's attitudes and views.

Harvard University

Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos* of 1610 and Its Rhetorical Models

DAVID A. FRICK

One of the more important works that grew out of the polemic over the Union of Brest (1596) was *Threnos, That is, the Lament of the One Holy Apostolic Eastern Church* (Vilnius, 1610),[1] which Meletij Smotryc'kyj published in Polish at the beginning of his literary career, while still a defender of Orthodoxy. Smotryc'kyj employed highly affective language in his work, especially in the first two chapters, and *Threnos* was met on all sides with strong and sometimes emotional responses, many of which focused on elements of eloquence. The author, who issued the book under the programmatic pseudonym "Theophil Ortholog," was hailed by the Orthodox as a second Chrysostom;[2] Ruthenian nobles passed the book on as an heirloom; and "a certain heretic" was said to have been buried with it, "in a lamentable fashion" *(lamentabili modo)*.[3] Smotryc'kyj's Uniate and

[1] Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *THRENOS, To iest Lament iedyney s. Powszechney Apostolskiey Wschodniey Cerkwie, z obiasnieniem Dogma! Wiary. Pierwey* z *Graeckiego na Słowieński, a teraz* z *Słowieńskiego na Polski przetoiony. Przez Theophila Orthologa, Teyze świętey Wschodniey Cerkwie Syna* (Vilnius, 1610). In citing Smotryc'kyj's works, I give first the page number in the original printed edition and then, in square brackets, the page number in *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj,* Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature: Texts, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

[2] In his *Paraenesis* (Cracow, 1628), p. 7 [648], Smotryc'kyj described the reception of the work by Damian Nalewayko [Damijan Nalyvayko] in the following terms: "Przesztego Roku zszedł z tego swiata tu w tym kraiu, maz w narodzie Ruskim, tak w pobożności zywota, iako w wiadomości Dogmat wiary, nie lada exystimacyey: są iednak żywi ci powazni mężowie, z Ostrogskiey Kapituły Swieszczennicy, przy ktorych obecnosci, w głos o Lamentowym skrypcie to mowił, ze iest w powaznosci opisaney w nim prawdy Bozey, pismom s. Złotoustego rowny: za ktory krew swoie nam wylewac, y dusze zań pokładać godzi sie."

[3] Smotryc'kyj's first biographer, the Uniate bishop Jakiv Susa *(Saulvs et Paulvs Rvthenae vnionis sanguine Beati Josaphat Transformatus sive Meletivs Smotriscivs Archiepiscopus Hieropolitanus. . .* [Rome, 1666], pp. 18-19), described the rhetorical impact of the work in these terms: "Quot ibi verba, tot crudelia vulnera: quot sensus, tot lethalia toxica. Et quia insigni Polonicae linguae cultu, quasi dulci pharmaco condita, eo magis noxia. Adeoque non Schismatici modo istud lamentum, sed etiam haeretici, laetis terebant manibus, pleno fouebant sinu, demum corde suo penitus defigebant. Fuere qui illud quasi diues, arte praesigne Cimelium, suprema voluntate in suos deriuandum posteros, testatum reliquerint. E' clero autem Schismatico non postremi, authoritate descriptae quasi in eo veritatis diuinae, monumentis Chrysostomi aequiparandum, sanguinemque pro eo censuere. Nec inglorium aestimatum, cuidam personae haereticae, cum eodem in aeuiternum lamentabili modo sepeliti."

Catholic antagonists were equally impressed by the effectiveness of his rhetoric. King Sigismund III Vasa forbade the buying or selling of the book on pain of a fine of 5,000 ri., and he ordered the author and printers arrested.[4] Heliasz Morochowski (Ilija Moroxovs'kyj) responded to *Threnos* with a work entitled *Paregoria, or Relief from the Acrimonious Lament* (Vilnius, 1612), in which he referred to Smotryc'kyj as, among other things, ''Theomach Pornolog."[5] A further sign of the work's success is the fact that Piotr Skarga, by then old and in failing health, felt the need to respond to this threat to his long-sought goal of church union by issuing his own *Warning against the Threnos and Lament of Theophil Ortholog* (Cracow, 1610), in which he dubbed Smotryc'kyj a "Krzywolog."[6] In his later years, now as a Uniate, Smotryc'kyj himself singled out the writing of *Threnos*, and the "lamentable errors and heresies (*lamentowe błędy y Haerezye*)'' it contained, for expressions of special regret and remorse.[7]

Scholarly discussions of Ruthenian writing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have continued to remark on the unusual persuasiveness of *Threnos*, devoting special attention to the style of the first chapter. It is in this chapter that the actual lament is contained; here, in cadenced prose, a personification of the Eastern church complains of the wrongs she has suffered at the hands of her children, who have abandoned her. In chapter 2, she admonishes them to return to her before they are punished by God. In the remainder of the book (about 85 percent of the entirety), the device of personification recedes into the background; here the Orthodox faith is defined and defended against Catholic and Protestant criticisms in a discussion of debated points of doctrine, which include the primacy of the pope, the procession of the Holy Spirit, leavened and unleavened bread, purgatory, communion under both species, and the invocation of the saints.

4 *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoju arxeografičeskoju kommissieju*, vol. 8 (Vilnius, 1875), pp. 93-95.

5 Heliasz Morochowski (Ilija Moroxovs'kyj), *Paregoria Albo Vtulenie vszczypliwego Lamentu mniemaney Cerkwi Swiętey wschodniey zmyślonego Theophila Orthologa* (Cracow, 1612).

6 Piotr Skarga, *Na Threny y Lament Theophila Orthologa do Rusi Greckiego Nabożeństwa, Przestroga* (Cracow, 1610). On Skarga's efforts in support of the Union of Brest, including a chapter devoted specifically to Skarga and Smotryc'kyj, see J. Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga w dziejach i literaturze unii brzeskiej* (Cracow, 1912). Smotryc'kyj's Greek pseudonym, Theophil Ortholog, makes him a God-loving speaker of true or upright words. By substituting new Greek attributes—Theo*mach Porno*log—Morochowski makes of the author one who struggles against God, using words of idolatry or fornication. Skarga's epithet—Krzywolog—derides Smotryc'kyj in two ways: it not only substitutes *krzywy* (i.e., "crooked") for *orthos*, making the author a twister of words; by injecting a Polish root into a Greek compound word it also turns the author into someone of much less dignity, a mere scribbler rather than an authority.

7 See Smotryc'kyj, *Apologia (L\i\,* 1628), pp. 104-107 [575-77].

Many general treatments of *Threnos* have posited the sort of opposition often found in investigations of Smotryc'kyj's life: they have asked whether the work is to be assigned to an Eastern or a Western camp, to be considered the product of "Hellenizing" or "Latinizing" tendencies. For example, Georges Florovsky influenced by the polemical stance of the author and by the fictitious claims that the work had been translated from Greek and Church Slavonic, insisted on the "Slavonic-Hellenic" nature of the work.[8] This kind of characterization suffers from two defects: (1) it is too general to provide an insight into the rules according to which Smotryc'kyj composed his work; (2) it poses the question in terms of exclusive allegiance to one or another camp when, as is becoming increasingly clear from studies of Ruthenian spiritual and political culture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, multiple allegiances were common among members of the elite.

More detailed evaluations of the first chapter of *Threnos* have focused on two aspects: the model for a personification of the "Mother-Church," and the model for Smotryc'kyj's rhythmic prose. On both counts, the discussion has sought to place Smotryc'kyj's work within a "native" literary tradition, citing, on the one hand, the brief complaints of the Eastern church found in works by Herasym Smotryc'kyj and Klyryk Ostroz'kyj, and, on the other hand, the rhythmical patterns of the Ukrainian folk lament (*holosinnja), dumy*, Jaroslavna's lament from the *Slovo o polku Igoreve,* or the writings of Ivan Vysens'kyj.[9]

It is not certain from these discussions whether the proposed models for Smotryc'kyj's lament of the Eastern church belong to one rhetorical tradition. Nor is it clear what the norms of that tradition (or those traditions) were, and in what way Smotryc'kyj adhered to them. It seems to me that we know too little about the specific models commonly proposed for *Threnos,* and indeed about Smotryc'kyj's familiarity with and attitude toward them, to say anything definite about his adherence to them.

8 Georges Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology,* ed. Richard S. Haugh, trans. Robert L. Nichols (Belmont, Mass., 1979), p. 66.

9 For some authoritative formulations of what has become a commonplace in treatments of Smotryc'kyj, see Myxajlo Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* vol. 2 (Lviv, 1921), p. 229; Myxajlo Hrusevs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* vol. 5 (Kiev, 1927; rpt., New York, 1960), pp. 458-71; V. P. Kolosova et al., eds., *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1967), pp. 267-68; P. K. Jaremenko, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj: Zyttja ta tvorcist'* (Kiev, 1986), pp. 14-15. To cite only the most recent example, Jaremenko states categorically: "Sumnivu nemaje, sco Smotryc'kyj stvoryv svij obraz stradnyci materi-cerkvy pid vplyvom Kliryka Ostroz'koho.. . Pys'mennyk majsterno korystujet'sja formoju narodnoho holosil'noho recytatyvu, sco zustricajet'sja u narodnyx dumax."

Here I focus attention, first, on what would seem, given Smotryc'kyj's training at Ostroh, Vilnius, and several German academies, a reasonable place to *begin* a search for his models: in the Latin rhetorical tradition that lay at the foundation of his education in the Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant centers. In this regard, I shall make three major points: (1) that, in choosing to use a personification of the Eastern church in his lament, Smotryc'kyj was adhering to a well-established tradition in Latin, Polish, and, indeed, in other West European vernaculars, of *querelae* or complaints, that provided a vehicle for the discussion of religious and political issues; (2) that, in composing his *querela*, he adhered to the rules for judicial oratory outlined in the rhetorical handbooks; and (3) that one clue to an understanding of his rhythmical prose may be sought in the paragraphs of those same handbooks devoted to the *ornatus*.

In so arguing, however, I do not rule out the possibility that Latin rhetorical norms co-existed in Smotryc'kyj's thought and work with elements belonging to the Orthodox patrimony; after all, an important aspect of Ruthenian letters in this period of Orthodox Slavic revival[10] seems to have been an attempt to create a new symbiosis of Latin learning and Orthodox Slavic traditions. I offer a few observations about a "Greek" feature of Smotryc'kyj's rhetoric in my concluding remarks. But my main concern, at the moment, is to point out that an important key to an understanding of the literary success of *Threnos*, and one, to the best of my knowledge, overlooked in previous discussions, is the fact that Smotryc'kyj was able to draw on a part of the Latin rhetorical tradition familiar to a wide range of readers throughout the multinational and multiconfessional Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

I

A device that appears frequently in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Polish and Latin verse and prose treatises dealing with contemporary political, social, and religious questions is a personification, whether of Peace or the Republic, the Church or Religion, which is presented as a mother figure and who, in a monologue, laments the loss of her sons and the wrongs she has suffered at their hands. Recent studies have linked these Polish complaints

[10] The term is Riccardo Picchio's and refers to the return to the sources of the Orthodox Slavic patrimony that marked spiritual life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries throughout Orthodox Slavdom: see Riccardo Picchio, " 'Prerinascimento esteuropea' e 'Rinascita slava ortodossa'," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 6 (1958): 185-99. Would it not make sense to characterize the *renovatio studiorum* that took place in the Ruthenian lands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as an aspect of yet another Orthodox Slavic Revival?

to the various *querelae, threni, querimoniae,* etc., that were popular throughout Europe at the time, in both Latin and the vernacular languages. The humanistic *querela* can be traced, in turn, through medieval personifications of Church and State to ancient representations of *Fides* and *Roma,* among others.[11]

The popularity of the *querela* in Poland has been linked to the appearance of Erasmus' *Querela Pacis* or *Complaint of Peace* (Basle, 1516; Cracow reprints, 1518, 1534). Indeed, the first generation of humanists in Poland seems to have found the device well suited to its literary needs. Walenty Eck's *Laments of Unheeded Religion to Sigismund, King of Poland (Ad Sigismundum regem Poloniae threni neglectae religionis,* Cracow, 1518) appeared contemporaneously with the first Cracow reprint of Erasmus' *Querela Pacis*. Soon thereafter Andrzej Krzycki made use of the form of address in his *Complaint of Religion and the Republic (Religionis et Reipublicae querimonia,* Cracow, 1522), as did Klemens Janicki in his *Complaint of the Republic of the Kingdom of Poland (Querela Reipublicae Regni Poloniae,* 1538).

The *querela* was enthusiastically received by the next generations, who employed the device in Polish verse. Two examples suffice to give an impression of the device's popularity. A work often attributed to Mikołaj Rej bears the title "The Polish Republic, Limping, Wanders about the World Seeking Aid and Makes Complaint against Her Lords That They Do Not Care for Her" *(Rzeczpospolita Polska chramiac tufa sie po swiatu szukaiqc pomocy a narzeka na swe Pany iż o nie nie dbajq,* 1549); Malcher Pudłowski's "Lament and Admonition of the Polish Republic" *(Lament i napominanie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej,* Cracow, 1561) continues the tradition of portraying the Commonwealth as a bereft mother.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the device of the lamenting Mother-Republic or Mother-Religion was fully accepted in Polish literature, and a set of stock images and phrases had arisen. The Mother would bemoan her loss with *ei mihi, me miseram, niestetyz mnie, ach mnie, biada mnie, ciezko mnie*, etc. Among the commonplaces, we find the image of the Republic dying at the hands of her own sons, an emphasis on the discrepancy between former glory and present misery, and the opposition between the old, good sons of the Republic and the present-day, unnatural sons.

[11] See Maria Cytowska, "Kwerela i heroida alegoryczna," *Meander* 18 (1963):485-503; Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Satyra czasow saskich*, Studia staropolskie 25 (Wroclaw, 1969), pp. 143-68; Edmund Kotarski, *Publicystyka Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego*, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, *Prace Wydziatu Filologiczno-filozoficznego* (Toruń), 22, no. 1 (1970): 63-73.

The use of the *querela* did not diminish in the decade immediately preceding the appearance of Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos*. It was especially popular in the verse and prose polemical literature that grew out of the Zebrzydowski rebellion of 1606-1608. Among the versified polemical treatises published by Jan Czubek as volume one of his collection of political literature from the time of the Rebellion, I find at least six works that contain laments, elegies, or admonitions spoken by a personification of the Polish Crown or Republic.[12]

It was at about this time that the devices associated with the *querela* began to gain currency in prose literature; Czubek's collection of documents contains two such works.[13] The ''Lamentatious Oration of the Polish Republic near Koprzywnica to the Assembled Knighthood in the Year 1606" contains, in language and images familiar to any reader of Smotryc'kyj, what had become the traditional complaint of the mother against the treachery of her present-day sons and her cry for the faithful sons of by-gone times:

The children are no more. Even my own, whom I raised, enriched, established in positions and high stations, even they desert me, treat me falsely and treacherously, secretly scheme against me, make negotiations, break my freedoms for many years now, sell me into slavery. ... O unhappy mother, who, having given birth to so many sons, have no one who will acknowledge you, in whom your good deeds will awaken a love for you to save you, and give aid in a bad cause. ... Where now is that virtuous son, Sarius, who for so many years practically carried me in his arms?[14]

[12] See the following works in Jan Czubek, *Pisma polityczne z czasow Rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego, 1606-1608,* vol. 1: *Poezya rokoszowa* (Cracow, 1916): "Elegia Korony Polskiej 1606," pp. 34-37; Jan Daniecki, ''Załosne narzekanie Korony Polskiej," pp. 131-47; B. S., "Korona Polska barzo smutna prośby serdeczne czyni," pp. 223-33; Wawrzyniec Chlebowski, "Lament żałosny Korony Polskiey," pp. 256-70; Kasper Miaskowski, "Tren Rzeczypospolitej w nieszczesne woyny domowe,'' pp. 310-14; and ''Upomnienie Korony Polskiej," pp. 322-28.

[13] See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne z czasow Rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego, 1606-1608,* vol. 2: *Proza* (Cracow, 1918): ''Załosna mowa Rzpltej polskiej pod Koprzywnicą do zgromadzonego rycerstwa roku 1606," pp. 96-102; ''Rozmowa synów z matką,'' pp. 136-48.

[14] Czubek, *Pisma,* 2:96-97: ''Niemasz dzieci; me własne, którem wychowała, ubogacila, na stotkach i godnosciach posadziła, i te mie opuszczają, falszem i zdradą sie ze mną obchodzą, praktyki o mnie po cichu zwodzą, targi czynią, wolnosci moje juz od dawnych lat łomią, w niewolą mie zaprzedają. . . . O nieszczesna matko, tak wiele synow zrodziwszy, niemasz, ktoby sie do ciebie przyznat, w kimby miłość ku tobie dobrodzieystwa twe do ratowania cie wzbudziły i pomoc w złej radzie dały. . . . Gdzie teraz on syn cnotliwy Saryusz, ktory mie od tak wielu lat prawie na reku swych nosił?. . ." (According to Czubek, Saryusz refers to Hetman Jan Zamoyski.)

This survey of the *querela* in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could be greatly expanded; indeed, the device continued to be popular as late as Saxon times.[15] I present this material not to argue for the direct influence of any particular work on Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos*, but to show that there existed by 1610 a well-established tradition of Latin and Polish verse and prose laments, the general form and the commonplaces of which the Ruthenian scholar could well have had in mind in his work, and, perhaps more importantly, could have expected his readership to recognize. The very title of Smotryc'kyj's work betrays an attempt to place it within this tradition. Moreover, the headings to the first two chapters of Smotryc'kyj's work present the collocation of "lament" and "admonition," previously found, for example in Malcher Pudtowski's *Lament and Admonition of the Polish Republic:*

Chapter 1. In Which is Contained the Lament, Or the Complaint of the Holy Eastern Church against Her Degenerate Sons.

Chapter 2. In Which is Contained the Admonition of the Eastern Church to the Son, Who, Along with Others, Deserted Her.[16]

An examination of the beginning of chapter 1 reveals the presence of many of the commonplaces found in other Latin and Polish *querela* of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. To cite only a few examples, the work begins with formulaic expressions of woe:

Alas, I am wretched, alas, unhappy; woe, I am plundered of my goods from all sides; alas, torn from my garments to the worldly shame of my body; alack, weighted down with unbearable burdens.[17]

Further, the former state of grandeur is compared with the present misery:

Beautiful and rich in days of old, now I am desecrated and poor; once the queen, beloved of the entire world, now I am scorned by all and afflicted.[18]

Moreover, blame for these dire straits is placed upon the sons who have abandoned their mother:

15 See Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Satyra*, pp. 149-68.

16 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, pp. 1r [17] and 22r [38]: "Rodziat I. W ktorym sie zamyka Lament, albo narzekanie Cerkwie S. Wschodniey, na Syny wyrodne.. . Rodział II. W ktorym sie zamyka napomnienie Cerkwie Wschodniey do Syna, ktory ią opuscit z drugimi pospołu."

17 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, p. lr [17]: "Niestetysz mnie nedzney, niestetysz nieszczesney, Ach ze wszech stron z dobr złupioney, niestetysz, na świecką ciata mego hańbę, z szat zwleczoney, biada mi nieznosnemi brzemiony obciążoney."

18 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, p. lr [17]: "Przedtym sliczna y bogata, teraz zeszpecona y vboga: Niegdy Krolowa wszystkiemu swiatu vlubiona, teraz od wszystkich wzgardzona y strapiona."

I bore children and raised them, and they repudiated me; and they became unto me a laughing stock and a mockery.... I bore children and raised them, and they repudiated me, and they became my demise.[19]

Finally, the contrast between former and present-day sons is emphasized through the use of the "ubi sunt..." *topos*:

Where now are those times in which I bore martyrs? Where those years in which I sheltered the righteous and the pious in my house? Where are those blessed Doctors and Apostles of the entire world? Where are their unerring followers, the pastors and teachers?[20]

This catalogue of *topoi* could be continued throughout chapter 1 of *Threnos*. It seems likely that in writing his work, Smotryc'kyj drew on some of the devices, images, and formulations found in other laments spoken by personifications of the Republic or Religion and adapted them to the situation facing the Eastern church. Smotryc'kyj's readership would have been able to place *Threnos* within the tradition of Latin and Polish complaints dealing with political and religious issues; and given the types of problems Smotryc'kyj wished to discuss, the choice of a *querela* to convey his message would have seemed a natural one. What is perhaps unusual in Smotryc'kyj's case is the fact that he made his complaint the first chapter of a long polemical tract in prose.

II

In recent years more and more attention has been given to the importance of Latin rhetorical models for an understanding of Polish polemical and political literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[21] Many authors, it has been noted, emphasized the oratorical qualities of their works by

19 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, p. 1v [18]: "Dziatkim rodziła y wychowała, a te sie mie wyrzekly: y zstały mi sie naśmiewiskiem y vrąganiem. . .. Dziatkim rodziła y wychowala, a one sie mie wyrzekly, y zstaty mi sie ku vpadku."

20 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, pp. 3v-4r [20]: "Gdzie teraz one czasy, w ktorym meczenniki rodziła? Gdzie te lata, w ktorem sprawiedliwe y pobożne w domu moim chowała? Gdzie błogosławieni oni wszystkiego swiata Doktorowie, Apostotowie? Gdzie ich nieobłudni naśladowce, Pasterze y nauczyciele?" For a survey of this *topos*, see Stefania Skwarczyńska, "Z dziejow inkarnacji poetyckich toposu 'ubi sunt. . .?'," *Prace polonistyczne* 32 (1976):29-51.

21 See Edmund Kotarski, "Publicystyka polityczna polskiego Odrodzenia: Wprowadzenie do problematyki," in *Problemy literatury staropolskiej*, ser. 2, ed. Janusz Pelc (Wroclaw, 1973), pp. 280-301, 320-23; Edmund Kotarski, "Polska polityczna proza publicystyczna XVI i XVII wieku wobec tradycji retorycznej," in *Retoryka a literatura*, ed. Barbara Otwinowska (Wroclaw, 1984), pp. 57-76; Wieslaw Stec, "Funkcja retoryki w tekscie polemicznym (na przykładzie *Gratisa* Jana Brożka)," in *Retoryka a literatura*, pp. 137-51.

characterizing them, often in the title, as an *oratia*, *mowa*, *wotum*, or *dyszkurs*, and by frequent use of expressions such as *mówię*, *jakom powiedział*, etc. Moreover, certain well-marked expressions could be employed to indicate an emphasis on one of the three *genera dicendi*: the *genus demonstrativum* or epideictic oratory, the purpose of which was to praise and blame; the *genus deliberativum* or deliberative oratory, the purpose of which was to persuade and dissuade; and the *genus iudicale* or judicial oratory, the purpose of which was to accuse and defend.[22]

While it is possible to place Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos* within a tradition of Polish complaints and laments, doing so does not tell us to what rules he was adhering in composing his work. Indeed, the *querela* seems to have been not so much a genre as a device that could be used in a variety of genres, ranging from the elegy to polemical prose pamphlets. What is common to many of these works, however, both verse and prose, is an adherence, in varying degrees, to the rules governing the construction of a judicial speech.[23]

An important key to understanding chapter 1 of *Threnos*, that is, the lament proper, lies precisely in the close ties between the *genus iudicale* and the *querela*. One can easily imagine that the set of stock phrases, images, and types of argumentation elaborated for prosecution and defense would be useful in this type of complaint. Smotryc'kyj, I believe, alerted his readers to this aspect of his work in the subtitle to chapter 1: he describes the work as a "Lament, or a Complaint of the Eastern Church *against* Her Degenerate Sons." Throughout the chapter, the Mother-Church speaks as the plaintiff in the court of the Christian Republic, charging her sons with a variety of crimes before the judge, who is God. Indeed, a careful reading of chapter 1 of *Threnos* reveals that Smotryc'kyj adhered here more closely than was usual in a polemical work to the rules governing judicial oratory.

We do not know precisely what handbooks of rhetoric Smotryc'kyj might have consulted. It is sufficient, however, to note that Ciceronian rhetoric continued to be a fundamental part of education in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and that the major sources had long been easily available: the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's own *De inventione*, *Topica*, *De oratore*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*, and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.

22 For one influential definition of the three *genera* and their functions, see the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (I ii 2). For the ancient *testimonia*, I have used the texts available in the Loeb Classical Library.

23 Kotarski has noted the importance of forensic rhetoric in his examination of the verse *querimoniae* of Jan Solikowski (*Publicystyka Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego*, pp. 72-73). See also, Kotarski, "Polska polityczna proza," pp. 67-68.

It is certainly probable that Smotryc'kyj drew on these works directly at some point in his studies. But even if his training in rhetoric were taken largely from such sixteenth-century compendia as Philipp Melanchthon's *Elementa rhetorices* (Wittenberg, 1531) or the *De arte rhetorica libri tres ex Aristotele, Cicerone, et Quintiliano deprompti* (ca. 1560) by the Spanish Jesuit Cypreano Soarez, he would still have acquired the Ciceronian division of oratory and definition of the basic parts of a speech.[24]

The point I wish to make here is a simple one and does not depend on an identification of Smotryc'kyj's precise authority (if, indeed, he had only one): the basic parts of a judicial speech are present and clearly marked in the first chapter of Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos.* Noteworthy is the fact that judicial oratory, though the main focus of classical rhetorical handbooks, had long been an anachronism; Melanchthon nonetheless devoted considerable attention to the *genus iudicale*, and he justified doing so precisely on the grounds that many of its methods of arrangement and argumentation were useful in confessional polemics.[25]

Rhetoric was traditionally divided into five parts: ***inventio,*** *dispositio, elocutio, memoria,* and *pronunciatio.* Under the first two headings Smotryc'kyj would have found guidelines for "the discovery of valid or seemingly valid arguments to render one's cause plausible" and for "the distribution of arguments thus discovered in the proper order."[26] The sources differ somewhat as to the exact number and names of the *partes oratoriae.* Widely accepted was the six-part division into *exordium,* ***narra-***

24 Melanchthon's works on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic were used in Protestant schools and earned him the title "praeceptor Germaniae." Soarez's rhetoric took its place alongside Emmanuel Alvarez's *De institutione grammatica libri tres* and Petrus Fonseca's *Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo* as the basic textbooks prescribed by the *ratio studiorum* of Jesuit schools. (On Melanchthon's rhetorical and pedagogical programs, see Wilhelm Mauer, *Der junge Melanchthon zwischen Humanismus und Reformation, 2* vols. [Gottingen, 1967], and Hermann-Adolph Stempel, *Melanchthons pädagogisches Wirken* [Bielefeld, 1979]. On Soarez's rhetoric and its relationship to Cicero and Quintilian, see Barbara Bauer, *Jesuitische "ars rhetorica" im Zeitalter der Glaubenskampf*, Mikrokosmos 18 [Frankfurt am Main, 1986], pp. 138-242.)

25 See Melanchthon, *Elementa rhetorices,* in his *Opera quae supersuntomnia*, Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 13, ed. C. Bretschneider (Halle, 1846), p. 429: "Sed nos tradimus haec praecepta, vel ad iudicandas aliorum oratione *(sic),* vel ut etiam instruamus adolescentes ad controversias in Epistolis tractandas, et ad ecclesiastica negocia. Nam disputationes ecclesiasticae, magna ex parte similitudinem quandam habent forensium certaminum. Interpretantur enim leges, dissolvunt antinomias, videlicet sententias, quae in speciem pugnare videntur, explicant ambigua, interdum de iure, interdum de facto disputant, quaerunt factorum consilia. Ideo hoc genus in his nostris moribus, etiam magnum habet usum."

26 Cicero, *De inventione* (I vii 9): "Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut verisimilium quae causam probabilem reddant; dispositio est rerum inventarum in ordinem distributio."

tio, partitio, confirmatio, refutatio, and *peroratio*.[27] As each part of an oration had a well-defined task, certain *loci* and manners of argumentation were considered appropriate to specific sections. A brief outline of Smotryc'kyj's lament of the Eastern church according to the rules for forensic rhetoric may help to support my point.

The prescribed purpose of the *exordium* is to secure the good will of the audience (the so-called *captatio benevolentiae*).[28] Some handbooks describe two types of *exordia:* the direct opening or introduction *(principium)*, which is suitable for straight-forward cases, and the subtle approach or insinuation (*insinuatio*), appropriate to a difficult case. Using the direct opening, according to Cicero, it is possible to win goodwill from four quarters: from our own person, from the person of the opponents, from the person of the jury, and from the case itself.[29] Several points made by Cicero seem relevent to Smotryc'kyj's oration: goodwill is to be had from our own person, "if we make known the misfortunes which have befallen us, or if we use prayers and entreaties with a humble and submissive spirit," and from the person of the opponents, "if some act of theirs is presented which is base, haughty, cruel, or malicious."[30] Furthermore, we can render the audience attentive by alleging that they are about to hear things that are "great, new, incredible. . . or that pertain to everyone."[31]

Smotryc'kyj's *exordium* extends in my reading for two pages, from 1r to 2r [17-18] ("Niestetysz mnie nedzney. . . ktorzy w okregu swiata mieszkacie"); he has chosen the direct opening as appropriate to the case. In the *exordium* he presents in highly cadenced prose the lament of the Church over her condition. The Church seeks to win the goodwill of the audience by describing the wrongs she has suffered and by emphasizing that she has suffered these wrongs at the hands of the ungrateful children whom she bore and raised. She appeals to the audience to come forward from throughout the world and marvel at her story:

27 See, for example, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (I iii 4), and Cicero, *De inventione* (I xiv 19).

28 See Cicero, *De inventione* (I xv 20): "Exordium est oratio animum auditoris idonee comparans ad reliquam dictionem; quod eveniet si eum benivolum, attentum, docilem confecerit."

29 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xvi 22): "Benivolentia quattuor ex locis comparatur: ab nostra, ab adversarium, ab iudicum persona, a causa."

30 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xvi 22): "Ab nostra.. . si quae incommoda acciderent aut quae instent difficultates, proferemus; si prece et obsecratione humili ac supplici utemur. . .. Ab adversariorum autem, si eos aut in odium aut in invidiam aut in contemptionem adducemus. In odium ducentur si quod eorum spurce, superbe, crudeliter, malitiose factum proferetur."

31 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xvi 23): "Attentos autem faciemus si demonstrabimus ea quae dicturi erimus magna, nova, incredibilis esse aut ad omnes. . . pertinere."

Come hither to me, all the nations, all citizens of the earth: hear my voice, and you will know what I was long ago, and you shall marvel.[32]

The prescribed purpose of the *narratio* is an exposition of events that have occurred or are supposed to have occurred.[33] According to the handbooks, there are three types of narrations: one which contains only the case and the reason for the dispute; a second in which a digression is made for the purpose of attacking somebody, or of making a comparison, or of amusing the audience, or for amplification; and a third which is wholly unconnected with public issues, which is recited or written solely for amusement but at the same time provides valuable training.[34]

Smotryc'kyj's *narratio,* which extends from 2r to 7r [18-23] ("Synowie y Corki moie. . . zaniedbali"), presents the crucial fact in its first sentence:

The sons and daughters whom I bore and raised left me and followed after her who did not suffer with them, so that they might be satiated with the excess of her fat.[35]

This statement alleges both a crime (the fact that the sons and daughters of the Eastern church have abandoned her) and a motive (to enjoy the temporal affluence, the *zbytek tiustosci,* of the stepmother, who is the Roman church).

Smotryc'kyj appears to have chosen the second kind of *narratio* mentioned in the handbooks. Much of the section is devoted to a digression on the main topic intended to maintain the favorable disposition of the audience. Here the Eastern church continues her lament, elaborating on the fact that her children have left her. With skillful use of the "ubi sunt. . ." *topos,* she asks what has happened to the times when she bore martyrs, saints, and doctors, what has happened to the faithful sons of days gone by? She then describes the kind of sons she needs now and asks where she is to find them.

The purpose of the *partitio* is to make the whole speech "clear and perspicuous."[36] According to Cicero, there are two sorts of partitions: that in which we show in what we agree with our opponents and what is left in

32 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* pp. 1r–v [17-18]: "Sam do mnie co zywo wszelkie narody, wszyscy obywatele ziemscy przystapcie, posłuchaycie głosu mego, a poznacie com była przed laty, y zadziwuyc[i]e sie."

33 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xix 27): "Narratio est rerum gestarum aut ut gestarum expositio."

34 See Cicero, *De inventione* (I xix 27), and ***Rhetorica ad Herennium*** (I viii 12).

35 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* p. 2r **[18]:** "Synowie y Corki moie, ktorem rodziła y wychowata, opuściwszy mię, szły za tą, ktora imi nie bolała: aby sie z zbytkiem tiustosci iey nasycili."

36 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xxii 31): "Recte habita in causa partitio illustrem et perspicuam totam efficit orationem."

dispute; and that in which we set forth in a methodical way the matters which we intend to discuss *(De inventione* I xxii 31).

Smotryc'kyj's *partitio* is about one page in length, from 7r to 7v [23-24] ("Ale poniewaz. . . Boga zywego"), and it is of the second sort. Here, first of all, is posed the main question that will be debated in the *confirmatio*:

.. . whence come such great increases in bad morals among my sons? For what reason has such an unmitigated hatred toward their mother overcome the children?[37]

In other words, the case will turn on the question of who or what is responsible for the state of affairs described in the *narratio.* While this is the only point of debate in the speech, the *partitio* nonetheless presents an outline of what will come: the Mother-Church states that it is necessary to answer this question before she decides whether to curse her children and yield them up to their Father's judgment or to approach some of their leaders once again and seek a reconciliation.[38] This, as we shall see, is the problem raised at the end of the *peroratio.* (The Church decides in favor of the second alternative, and chapter 2 of *Threnos* presents the Mother's final admonition to her sons.)

The purpose of the *confirmatio* is to lend credit, authority, and support to the case through the use of arguments.[39] Smotryc'kyj's *confirmatio* is the centerpiece of chapter 1; it extends from 7v to 17r [24-33] (''Niechże w nievkorzoney złości ich przyczyne weyzrze. . . na wieki krolowac bedziecie"). Here he employs a type of argumentation treated by Cicero under the heading of *enumeratio:* "Enumeration is a form of argument in which several possibilities are stated, and when all but one have been disproved, this one is demonstrated irrefutably."[40]

The argument of the *confirmatio* can be presented in the following question-and-answer outline form:

37 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* p. 7r [23]: "... skad tak wielkie ztych obyczaiow przysady w syniech sie moich nayduią: Dla ktorey przyczyny tak nievsmierzona naprzeciw Rodzicielki nienawisc, dzieci opanowała?''

38 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* p. 7r [23]: ".. . o tym zaiste godzi mi si? pomyślić pierwey niżli lub owszeki się ich wyrzekszy Macierzyńską boleścią w serdecznym żalu zięta, w gorzkosci serca mego przeklne, y Oycowskiemu karaniu wydam: lub tez ieszcze raz do niektorych przednieyszych... zstąpię, y o nawroceniu z nimi rozmowie. ..."

39 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xxiv 34): "Confirmatio est per quam argumentando nostrae causae fidem et auctoritatem et firmamentum adiungit oratio."

40 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xxix 45): "Enumeratio est in qua pluribus rebus expositis et ceteris infirmatis una reliqua necessario confirmatur.''

(1) Q: Was the children's malice caused by the father by right of birth? Or by the mother through nurturing?

A: No. As good fruit testifies to a good tree (cf. Matt. 7: 15–20; Luke 6: 43–45), so also the opposite is *sometimes* true. But the parents are upright. Therefore, they are not the cause.[41]

(2) Q: Were the parents the cause through lack of attention to good upbringing?

A: No. God and the Church constantly admonish all the estates and everyone individually.[42]

(3) Therefore, the children's own carelessness and disobedience in following the parents' admonition is the cause of their unnatural behavior.[43]

Once the cause of the children's actions, the main question raised in the *partitio,* has been ascertained, a further question is posed:

(4) Q: Which of the sons was first overcome by carelessness?

(a) the subjects? A: No. The masters do not imitate their subjects, and thus this disease could not have spread from the subjects.

(b) the superiors? A: No. The subjects take their lead from their masters, it is true, but only in temporal matters. Since this is a spiritual matter, the disease could not have spread from the superiors.

(c) the clergy? A: Yes. They are the only ones left, and they are responsible for the spiritual guidance of all.[44]

41 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, p. 7v [24]: "Niechze w nievkorzoney ztosci ich przyczyne weyzrzę: Od Oycali one przyrodzenia prawem, czyli z Matki wychowania względem wzieli? Ponieważ iako owoc dobry o dobrym drzewie swiadczy, tak y dobre dziatek obyczaie, dobry rodzicow zywot opowiadaia. Takież y przeciwnym sposobem złości rodzicow niegdy to przypisuią, co w potomkach ganiono bywa. Lecz żadną sie to miarą nie naydzie w Rodzicach, Ociec bowiem iest dobry, cichy, skromny, iagodny, łaskawy, pokorny, y az do śmierci postuszny. A Matka czysta, swieta, niepokalana dobrotliwa y obyczayna.. . . Dla czego ani Oycowskiego przyrodzenia prawo, ani Macierzyńskie mleko do tak wielkiey ztosci dziatek naszych przyczyną nie byly.''

42 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* pp. 7v-9v [24-26]: "Niech tak bedzie, ze my rodzice przyrodzenia prawem, przyczyna. ich ztosci nie iestesmy, iednak dobrego wychowania zaniedbaniem bedziemy? Zadnym sposobem. . . my Rodzice iako przyrodzenia prawem do ztego potomstwu naszemu przyczyną nie byli, tak tez ani cwiczenia y dobrego wychowania zaniedbywaniem do tego powodem iestesmy. Abowiem y wszystkich pospolicie krom wszelkiego na osoby wzgledu, y kazdego z osobna, krom zadnego pochlebstwa, sztrofuiem, karzem, napominamy y nauczamy.''

43 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* p. 10r [26]: "Przystoi abym ich samych w nasladowaniu pokazaney im od Oyca drogi nikczemne niedbalstwo y rospustne ku słuchaniu podanego w nauce Matczyney przykazania nieposłuszeństwo w posrzodek wniosta. ... To przyczyną byto mierzioney wzgardy: Od tego korzenia wyrosta nieprzyiaźń: Ta byta źrzodłem prześladowania, ktore ia teraz vstawicznie we dnie y w nocy cierpie."

44 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* pp. 10v–11r [27]: "To tedy wynalazszy przystusza mi zaiste natychmiast wiedziec: do ktorego napierwey z synow moich niezbedny ten gosc zawitał?. . . Izali napierwey iarzmo swe na karki Xiążąt y Przetozonych włożył? czyli nad ich poddanymi poczatek vczynił? Lecz wszelkiemu Przełożeństwu nie iest rzecz przystoyna, teyze

The remainder of the *confirmatio* is devoted to allegations against the clergy, chief among which are that they have not fulfilled their duties and that this is the reason for the present state of affairs.

The purpose of the *refutatio* is to impair, disprove, or weaken the confirmation in the opponent's speech.[45] It can draw on the same sources of invention as were available to the *confirmatio.* Since there was no specific speech to answer in this case, Smotryc'kyj's *refutatio,* which extends from 17r to 20r [33-36] ("Ale rzecze ktory z synow. .. dobroc twoie wzywam''), raises and refutes a hypothetical objection to the argument made in the *confirmatio.* The objection is phrased in these terms:

But one of my sons will say: Why did our mother's heart become enflamed with harsh anger?.. . This does not befit maternal love, since it knows well that it is impossible to find among men a man without sin. . . . And since no one is without sin, except for God himself, she should have treated her children more leniently.[46]

The refutation by the Mother-Church can be paraphrased in the following terms:

Would that I had no response, but unfortunately I do. Everyone knows that only God is without sin. At issue here is the fact that I bore you not under the Law, but under Grace, and therefore you should have behaved as children of the light [cf. Eph. 5: 8]. All men sin, but the righteous man quickly jumps to his feet from a fall. Thus it is not your sinning that I rebuke, but your constant abiding in sin.[47]

prostoty nasladowac, w ktorey poddane swe widza. ... A ponieważ nie poddanych, pewnie tedy samych przetozonych napierwey ta okrutna iedza osiegta. . .. Lecz widze ieszcze iedne przepone y te nie mnieyszą, gdyż Ksiazeta y Przełożeni nie są takiey władzey, aby y powierzchowne y wnetrzne, to iest, swieckie y Duchowne sprawy podtug woley swoiey kierowac mogli. . .. Ktoż mi wiec zbywa na kim by sie to nieukoione złe napierwey oparło, kogom ieszcze przebaczyła. Płać, kto na płacu (iako mowią) ten nieprzyiaciel, O kim namnieysze podeyrzenie, ten snac złoczyńcę przechowywa? Gdzie sie namniey spodziewam, tarn w trawie weza nayduie. Ci podobno napierwey piekielnym tym sidłem dali sie vsidlic, ktorzy wszystkiego pospolstwa wodzami sie być chlubią, ze sie ta choroba iako Cancer po wszystkim ciele rozszerzyła: y ktorym nad duszami ludzkiemi moc iest podana: ktorym stuga y Pan, wolny y niewolnik posłuszeństwo oddawac powinien, y ktorym klucze Krolestwa niebieskiego są powierzone: Z ktorych iedni są Kapłani, a drudzy Arcykapłani, wszyscy zarowno rozumnych Oyca swego owiec Pasterze, y nauczyciele mlodszey Braciey swoiey, Synow moich Wodzowie, y Opiekunowie."

45 Cicero, *De inventione* (I xlii 78): "Reprehensio est per quern argumentando adversariorum confirmatio diluitur aut infirmatur aut elevatur."

46 Smotryc'kyj' *Threnos,* p. 17r [33]: "Ale rzecze ktory z synow moich. Przeczze sie srogim gniewem zapaliło serce Matki naszey?.. . Nie iest to Macierzyńskiey miłości przystoyno, gdyz wie dobrze, ze nie mozna iest rzecz między ludźmi bez grzechu człowieka nalesc. ... A ponieważ żaden nie iest bez grzechu, tylko sam Bog. Lzey by z dziatkami swemi postepowac miała.''

47 Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos,* 17r-19r [33-35]: ''Dałby to Bog żebym nie miała czego odpowiedzieć. . . . Ale ciezkoz mnie ze to wszystko prawda co mowie. . . . A iż sam tylko Bog

According to Cicero, the *peroratio* is the end and conclusion of the whole speech. It has three parts: the summing-up, the *indignatio* or exciting of ill-will against the opponent, and the *conquestio* or arousing of pity and sympathy.[48] Smotryc'kyj's peroration, which extends from 20r to 21v [36-38] ("Ty sam Krolu wieczney chwały. . . y do Starszego z nich rzeke"), is a variation on this scheme. It is a prayer to God, as the judge who is hearing the case, to redress the wrong and to render just, though not immediate, punishment: the Mother-Church intercedes with the judge on behalf of her children with the promise that she will go to them and admonish them once more to repent before they are condemned. (The admonition, it will be recalled, is contained in chapter 2.)

I have emphasized the fact that Smotryc'kyj made the structure and manner of argumentation in his lament of the Eastern church conform to the rules governing judicial oratory. Within these general limits, however, he created a kind of Orthodox Christian variant of the *genus iudicale.* In this regard, it is worth noting that Smotryc'kyj's source-book for the *topoi* and images prescribed by *inventio* was often the Bible. In his *exordium* and *narratio,* for example, he drew on the allegorical reading of Lamentations in presenting the Mother-Church as "one of the lamenting widows." For the *confirmatio*, St. Paul's descriptions of the priesthood (cf. 1 Th. 5: 14; 1 Pet. 5: 1-4; 2 Tim. 4: 2) provided material suited to arguing his case against the Ruthenian clergy.

In the context of this Orthodox Christian forensic oratory, Smotryc'kyj could give certain key words and concepts added resonance. For example, in chapter 2 the Eastern church urges the elder of the apostates, usually identified with Ipatij Potij, to confess his sins and to seek God's mercy. The concepts of confession and mercy function in two spheres in Smotryc'kyj's rhetoric. They are, of course, central to the religious aspect of the work; but they also function in the judicial sphere: Smotryc'kyj urges Potij and others to confess their crimes and thereby to throw themselves upon the mercy of the court.

bez grzechu, a ludzie wszyscy grzechowi podlegli, Ktoż tego nie wie. . . . Iam was pod łaską porodzila, a nie pod zakonem.... A dla tego godziło sie warn iako synom światłości sprawowac. . . . Y mowicie, Zaden cztowiek bez grzechu oprocz samego tego ktory swiata grzechy zgładził, być nie moze. .. dobrze, przyznawam to y ia: Ale tez y to opowiadam, ze sie sprawiedliwy predko z posliznienia porywa. ... A przetoz y mnie nędzną, nie grzechy wasze na taki sztrofowania sposob poruszyty, ale vstawiczne w grzechach trwanie wasze...."

48 Cicero, *De inventione* (I lii 98): "Conclusio est exitus et determinatio totius orationis. Haec habet partes tres: enumerationem, indignationem, conquestionem."

III

I begin my discussion of Smotryc'kyj's rhythmical prose by posing a question: was Smotryc'kyj attempting to imitate in Polish the practice of Latin orators such as Cicero and Quintilian, who in their handbooks called for the use of rhythm in prose as an enhancement to the persuasiveness of a speech?[49] My comments here are of a preliminary nature. Latin prose rhythm, from antiquity to the Renaissance, has been the object of intensive study;[50] but while the general impression has been that the Latin practice was widely imitated in the vernaculars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we lack, at least in the case of Polish, theoretical statements by the practitioners themselves on the principles which governed their supposed imitation of the Latin model.[51] Moreover, investigations of Polish prose rhythm are only in the initial stages.[52] These obstacles notwithstanding, it seems appropriate to pursue this topic, especially in light of Smotryc'kyj's adherence to other elements of the Latin rhetorical tradition in his composition of the first chapter of *Threnos*.

Let me first attempt to describe in general terms the rules that Smotryc'kyj may have had in mind. Latin handbooks of rhetoric dealt with style and rhythm in discussions of the *ornatus*, which came under the general heading of *elocutio*. According to Quintilian, there are two kinds of style: "the one is closely welded and woven together, while the other is of

49 For discussions of prose rhythm, see Cicero, *De oratore* (III xliii 171 — li 198), and Quintilian, *Institutio oratorio* (IX iv). The ancient *testimonia* are collected in A. C. Clark, *Forties Prosae Numerosae* (Oxford, 1909).

50 For classical practice, see the summary article of S. F. Bonner, "Roman Oratory," in *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship,* ed. M. Platnauer (Oxford, 1954), pp. 335-83; on problems connected with internal *cola,* see Thomas N. Habinek, *The Colometry of Latin Prose* (Berkeley, 1985). For late Latin material, see S. Oberhelman and R. Hall, "Meter in Accentual Clausulae of Late Empire Latin," *Classical Philology* 80 (1985): 214-27.

51 The problem of rhythm in vernacular prose *was* debated by sixteenth-century French writers. In his *La Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre* (1540), Etienne Dolet elaborated a rhetorically based theory of translation as a kind of imitation. One aspect of that imitation called for the retention of the *nombres oratoires* in the vernacular version. Indeed, Dolet states that "sans grande observation des nombres un autheur n'est rien." See Glyn P. Norton, "Translation Theory in Renaissance France: Etienne Dolet and the Rhetorical Tradition," *Renaissance and Reformation* 10 (1974): 1-13.

52 One useful study is Krystyna Stawecka, "Z zagadnień rytmu *Kazan sejmowych* Skargi," *Eos* 55 (1966): 180-91; see also Mirosław Korolko, *O prozie "Kazan sejmowych" Piotra Skargi* (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 167-84. Also of interest, because they deal with a similar set of problems, are studies on the *cursus* in English and on English prose rhythm in general. See Albert C. Clark, *Prose Rhythm in English* (Oxford, 1913); and especially Morris W. Croll, "The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose," in *Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm: Essays by Morris W. Croll,* ed. J. Max Patrick et al. (Princeton, 1966), pp. 303-359.

a looser structure such as is found in dialogues and letters."[53] The artistic use of rhythm or *numerus* was one distinguishing feature of the former. Latin prose rhythm was predicated on the division of an oration into periods, and the further division of the period into smaller units of thought known as *membra* or *cola.* The *cola* could be coordinated in phrases or further subdivided into *commata* or *incisa.* Quintilian defines a *comma* as "the expression of a thought lacking rhythmical completeness," though he allows that some view it as simply "a part of the *colon."*[54] He defines a *colon* as "the expression of a thought which is rhythmically complete, but is meaningless if detached from the whole body of the sentence."[55] The period has two forms: "the one is simple, and consists of one thought expressed in a number of words, duly rounded to a close; the other consists of *commata* and *cola,* comprising a number of different thoughts."[56] A period must have at least two *cola*.[57] According to Quintilian, the ends of *cola* and periods were often marked by metrical feet. Furthermore, each section of a speech had its appropriate style, the full periodic style being best adapted to the *exordium* and the *peroratio* (IX iv 128), the *narratio* calling for "slower and. . . more modest feet,. . . long *cola* and short periods" (IX iv 134).

The problem of periodic style and prose rhythm, while not lacking in the sections of the medieval *artes dictaminis* devoted to the *cursus*,[58] became once again the focus of intensive discussion in the Renaissance with the discovery of Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria.*[59] A Polish chapter in that debate was the controversy between Jakub Gorski (ca. 1525-1585), professor at the Cracow Academy and author of *De periodis atque numeris oratoriis libri duo* (Cracow, 1558), and his student, Benedykt

[53] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* (IX iv 19): "Est igitur ante omnia oratio alia vincta atque contexta, soluta alia, qualia in sermone et epistolis. ..."

[54] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* (IX iv 122): "Incisum (quantum mea fert opinio) erit sensus non expleto numero conclusus, plerisque pars membri."

[55] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* (IX iv 123): "Membrum autem est sensus numeris conclusus, sed a toto corpore abruptus et per se nihil efficiens."

[56] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* (IX iv 124): "Genera eius duo sunt, alterum simplex, cum sensus unus longiore ambitu circumducitur, alterum, quod constat membris et incisis, quae plures sensus habent."

[57] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* (IX iv 125): "Habet periodus membra minimum duo."

[58] For a brief discussion of the *cursus,* see James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from St. Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 251-53.

[59] Credit for initiating the new stage of the discussion of *numerosa structura* is given to Leonardo Bruni. See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From 1300–1850* (Oxford, 1976), p. 30. For some sixteenth-century treatments of *numerus,* see Bauer, *Jesuitische "ars rhetorica,"* pp. 177–201.

Herbest (ca. 1531-1593), author of *Periodica disputatio* (Cracow, 1562). That the topic was considered important is witnessed by the fact that several leading literary figures of the time entered into the debate: Stanistaw Orzechowski, Andrzej Nidecki, Piotr Skarga, and Jan Kochanowski.[60]

Efforts to describe the application of Latin doctrines of *numerus* to Polish prose encounter two major problems: the division of the speech into periods and *cola,* and the nature of the metrical feet used to mark the ends of those syntactic units.

Any examination of attempts to imitate Latin prose rhythm in Polish must take stress as the parameter governing the formation of metrical feet. But here we are hampered by a lack of precise knowledge about the status of Polish stress in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In her study of Piotr Skarga's *Kazania Sejmowe*, Krystyna Stawecka offers a reasonable working hypothesis for the investigation of prose rhythm in this period. In my investigation of Smotryc'kyj, I have likewise assumed that the primary stress is fixed on the penultimate syllable of a word (or of a group of words treated as a unit) and that a secondary stress on the initial syllable of words of three or more syllables could sometimes be taken into account in the formation of metrical markers. These general guidelines do not dictate when secondary stress plays a role in determining meter, nor do they tell us which words are to be treated as enclitics. As Stawecka points out, this problem is sometimes solveable through a careful examination of the larger context.[61] Moreover, I have taken Smotryc'kyj's own punctuation as a clue to the division of his prose into periods and *cola.* In general, virgules and colons often seem to mark the ends of *cola,* periods the ends of periods.

Let us look first at the beginning of the *exordium* to chapter 1 of *Threnos*, the section most investigators have in mind when they speak of the rhythmicality of Smotryc'kyj's prose. I give, for sake of reference, the syllable count of each *colon* along the left, and my scansion along the right:[62]

[60] On the debate on the period, see Kazimierz Morawski, "Jakub Gorski, humanista i apologeta," in *Czasy Zygmuntowskie na tle prądów Odrodzemia*, ed. Janusz Tazbir (Warsaw, 1965), pp. 114–52.

[61] See Stawecka, "Z zagadnien rytmu *Kazan sejmowych* Skargi," pp. 182-84. On the problems of Polish accentuation, see Zuzanna Topoliriska, Z *historii akcentu **polskiego** od wieku XVI do dziś* (Wroclaw, 1961). It is important to bear in mind that more words (e.g., persona] pronouns, reflexive particles) could function as enclitics in seventeenth-century prose than is the case today.

[62] In describing Smotryc'kyj's metrical markers, I have adopted the shorthand used by Morris W. Croll in his article on English oratorical prose ("The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose"). The numbers refer to the syllables, counting from the end of the ***colon,*** that bear

6	Niestetysz mnie nedzney/	5-2
6	niestetysz nieszczęsney/	5-2
8	Ach ze wszech stron z dobr złupioney/	4-2
16	niestetysz na świecką ciała mego hańbe z szat zwleczoney/	4-2
14	biada mi nieznosnemi brzemiony obciazoney.	4-2
5	Rece w okowach/	5-2
5	iarzmo na szyi/	5-2
5	peta na nogach/	5-2
5	lancuch na biodrach/	5-2
8	miecz nad głową oboietny/	4-2
9	woda pod nogami głęboka/	5-2
9	ogień po stronach nieugaszony/	5-2
5	ze wszad wolania/	5-2
3	ze wszad strach/	3-1
7	ze wszad przesladowania/	5-2
7	Biada w mieściech y we wsiach/	5-2
8	biada w polach y dabrowach/	6-2
10	biada w gorach y przepasciach ziemie.	4-2
11	Niemasz żadnego mieysca spokoynego/	6-2
10	ani pomieszkania bespiecznego	6-2
7	Dzień w bolesciach y ranach/	5-2
8	noc w stekaniu y wzdychaniu.	6-2
8	Lato znoyne ku zemdleniu/	6-2
7	Zima mrozna ku smierci:	5-2
9	Mizernie bowiem nagosc cierpie/	4-2
11	y az na smierc przesladowana by warn.	4-2
8	Przedtym sliczna y bogata/	6-2
10	teraz zeszpecona y vboga:	6-2
14	Niegdy Krolowa wszystkiemu swiatu vlubiona/	6-2
12	teraz od wszystkich wzgardzona y strapiona.	6-2
11	Sam do mnie co zywo wszelkie narody/	5-2
12	wszyscy obywatele ziemscy przystąpcie/	5-2
8	posiuchaycie głosu mego/	4-2
10	a poznacie com była przed laty	5-2
6	y zadziwuyc[i]e sie.	5-2

In this highly rhetorical passage there are clearly many devices other than metrical markers at play; they include such figures of thought as antithesis and such figures of speech as isocolon, anaphora, homoioteleuton, and other

stress. Thus "4-2" indicates a ditrocheic marker and "5-2" a dactylotrocheic; "6-2" indicates a marker comprising a first paean in combination with a trochee.

types of parallelisms. Moreoever, other scansions may also be possible, depending on the reading of multisyllabic words and enclitics, as well as the division of periods into *cola*. But what is important here is that, while the patterns produced by the metrical markers seem to work together with the other devices in delineating the overarching structure of the passage, the rhythmical patterns are not simply the result of those devices.

The question then arises whether Smotryc'kyj made similar use of prose rhythm in other less obviously "rhetorical" passages. One place to look for the use of rhythm in periodic style might be in such thematically and structurally marked passages as the ends and beginnings of the six parts of the oration. As there are no paragraph divisions in the original printed text, the coincidence of rhythmic and thematic markers may, in some cases, help in deciding where a structural division occurs. In general, the passages that I have marked as the ends of sections do betray a careful attention on the author's part to metrical patterns.

Let us look, for example, at the end of the *partitio* (7r-v [23-24]), as I have identified it in my division of the speech. Again, I take my clues for division *of cola* from Smotryc'kyj's own punctuation:

Ktory [Oyciec] aczkolwiek wie dolegliwosci moie/	4-2
miłosierdziem iednak do tego czasu zatrzymany czeka/	4-2
azali się kiedy obaczą y pokutowac będą:	4-2
Ale skoro namnieysze slowko z vst wypuszcze/	4-2
albo co tylko vciążać na nie pomyślę/	5-2
w ocemgnieniu złych źle zatraci/	4-2
y pamiątkę ich wichrem po powietrzu rozwieie/	5-2
ze y mieysca na ktorym mieszkali znac nie bedzie.	4-2
Straszliwa abowiem rzecz iest	4-2(?)
mowi Apostoł ś[więty]	4-2
wpasc w rece Boga zywego.	5-2

Here, where other types of parallelisms play a much less significant role than in the *exordium*, we find nonetheless a carefully crafted pattern consisting of the alternation of two metrical markers.

My investigation of Smotryc'kyj's prose rhythm is too preliminary to allow definite conclusions. Further, more broadly based studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century oratorical prose will be required before we can determine the general principles of Polish prose rhythm. I offer the following two impressions only as hypotheses for further testing. First, Smotryc'kyj seems to favor a pattern in constructing periods that emphasizes the end, either by setting the final *colon* apart (ABAB. . . C or AAAA. . . B, or something of the sort) or by using the final *colon* to return to a pattern established early in the period but abandoned in the second half (AABCD. . . A, or similar). Metrical markers are among the devices he

uses to create this effect. Second, other things being equal, he seems to view a longer marker as "more final" than a shorter one. The dactylotrocheic *clausula* (5-2) seems often to be preferred to the ditrocheic (4-2), where other rhetorical markers are lacking, as a sign of the end of a period.

The end of the *confirmatio* (16v- 17r [33]) is of interest in this regard:

To warn na kazdy dzień przekładam.		4-2
Dzień y noc o tym do was wołam.		4-2
Kto iest między wami malutki		5-2
niech przyidzie do mnie		4-2
y ktorzy chcecie rozumu		5-2
chodzcie sam		3-1
iedzciez moy chleb	4	-1
a piicie wino		4-2
ktorem warn zmieszala:		4-2
Opusccie dzieciristwo		5-2
y żywi bądźcie:		4-2
chodzcie po drogach opatrznosci		4-2
a na wieki krolowac bedziecie.		5-2

A pattern of alternating ditrocheic and dactylotrocheic markers, established in the first five *cola,* is interrupted but then resumed in the final clause *krolowac bedziecie.* What is important here is the fact that lines 3 to 12 ("Kto iest.. . opatrzności''), some of which seem not to "scan," is a citation of Prov. 9:4–6. In *Threnos* Smotryc'kyj followed the so-called Bible of Leopolita in its revised form, published in Cracow in 1575 and reissued in 1577. It, in turn, follows the Vulgate (*relinquite infantiam et vivite et ambulate per vias prudentiae)* in its translation of Prov. 4: 6 *{Opusccie dzieciristwo, a zywcie, y chodzcie po drogach opatrznosci).* Smotryc'kyj added on his own the words *a na wieki krolowac bedziecie.* They do not appear in any of the other Polish translations available to him: the Bible of Leopolita of 1561, the Brest Bible of 1563, the Budny Bible of 1572, or the Wujek Bible of 1599. They do appear, however, in some manuscripts of the Septuagint: *hina eis ton aiōna basileusete.* This passage can thus be seen as further evidence for what I have described elsewhere as Smotyrc'kyj's critical use of biblical citations.[63] The crucial difference here from other examples of his emendatory work, however, is that the phrase *a na wieki krolowac bedziecie* occurs out of place. According to the Greek manuscripts that contain these words, Smotryc'kyj should not have inserted them at the end; he should rather have *substituted* them for the phrase *y*

63 See David A. Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj's Critical Use of Biblical Citations," in *Formal Techniques and Cultural Models in Orthodox Slavic Literature,* ed. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt (forthcoming).

żywi bądźcie.[64] Could Smotryc'kyj's choice to include the *colon* containing the phrase *krolować będziecie*, and, more importantly, to place it at the end, have been motivated, at least in part, by rhythmic considerations?

The general conclusion, then, is hardly surprising, given Smotryc'kyj's intellectual formation and the culture within which he worked: Latin rhetorical models hold important keys to an understanding of the structure and meaning of the first chapter of *Threnos.* In emphasizing the importance of Latin models, however, it is important not to exclude the possibility that other elements might be present. One curious syntactic construction leads me to suspect that Smotryc'kyj himself consciously attempted to create an Orthodox Ruthenian version of a Latin-based Polish oratory. I am referring to what can be termed a genitive of exclamation, of which I have found six examples:

O bolesci dusze moiey (2r [18]).[65]

O godney pochwałey wiary waszey o wielomyslnego w miłości serca (4v [21]).

O zagniłego gnusney wody źrzodła O iadowitey trucizną napełnionych wod studnice (10r–v [26-27]).

O nieporzadnego, o przewrotnego, o niezbożnego rak wkładania obyczaiu (14r [30]).

As far as I am aware, there was no such genitive of exclamation in "standard" sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Polish. Nor can it be traced to a Latin model, where we find the accusative of exclamation instead. It is a feature, however, of Greek and Church Slavonic. And we know that Smotryc'kyj was aware (at least in 1618) that it belonged to Church Slavonic grammar, since he included it in his discussion of the syntax of that language.[66]

It is now widely accepted that Smotryc'kyj wrote his *Threnos* in Polish; he attempted, however, to give the work a more Orthodox pedigree by claiming on the title page that it had been written in Greek, and then translated from Greek into Church Slavonic and from Slavonic into Polish. The use of genitives of exclamation may thus be seen as an effort on Smotryc'kyj's part to include a few ‘‘Orthodoxisms’’ in his Polish oratory.

64 See *Septuaginta*, vol. 2, ed. Alfred Rahlfs (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 197.

65 In light of the other clear cases of the use of the genitive in similar contexts, it seems likely that *bolesci* should be read as genitive and not vocative.

66 See Smotryc'kyj, *Grammatiki Slavenskija pravilnoe Sintagma* (Vevis, 1619), p. SC 7v: ‘‘O Socinenij mezdometija: Pravilo/ a. ole, i/ o, Setovanija: i/ o, Oudivlenija: Roditelnomu socinjajutsja: jako, o mene okojannaho člvka: o premudryx sudebъ tvoix xse: i proč.’’

The case of Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos* raises some questions of methodology in the study of Ruthenian literary monuments of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. On the one hand, it is clearly counter-productive to assume that Ruthenian scholars would have recourse only to "Orthodox" rhetorical models. Given the Western intellectual orientation of such figures as Smotryc'kyj or Mohyla, for example, it is in no way surprising to find that Latin rhetoric and Polish models hold keys to their writing, whether it was in Polish or Ruthenian. Nor should we rule out the possibility that Western models played a role in the work of such Orthodox traditionalists as Ivan Vysens'kyj.[67] Indeed, the question should now be posed, to what extent did some of the works traditionally named as Smotryc'kyj's models adhere to the same set of Latin rhetorical norms? On the other hand, we should not treat writings by Ruthenians, even writings in Polish, as simply a manifestation of Latin-Polish literary culture in the eastern lands of the Commonwealth. Smotryc'kyj's use of the genitive of exclamation alerts us to attempts by Ruthenian scholars to create a kind of Orthodox Polish.[68] It may prove possible, for example, to discover in the works of Ruthenian writers the co-existence of a Latin-influenced prose rhythm with the recurrent isocolic structures that, as shown by the research of Riccardo Picchio, characterized a large portion of Orthodox Slavic prose.[69]

As Frank E. Sysyn has noted, the habit of creating "camps with completely opposed religious views, linguistic preferences, cultural sources, and literary styles does not correspond to the realities of seventeenth-century Ukraine, where the lines were neither so clearly nor so consistently drawn."[70] Ruthenian letters of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

67 See V. N. Peretc, "Ivan Višenskij i pol'skaja literatura XVI v.," in his *Issledovanija i material}' po istorii starinnoj ukrainskoj literatury XVI–XVIII vekov,* Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk SSSR, vol. 101, no. 2 (1926), pp. 15-49. Current research by Harvey Goldblatt will offer new insights on this topic.

68 Jaremenko (*Meletij Smotryc'kyj,* p. 47), drawing on Alexander Bruckner's "Spory o unie w dawnej literaturze" (*Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10 [1896]: 426), calls attention to Smotryc'kyj's use of a "Ukrainian-Belorussian recension of the Polish literary language." A preliminary investigation shows that Smotryc'kyj's funeral oration for Leontij Karpovyc, in both the Ruthenian and the Polish versions, makes similar use of a genitive of exclamation. Was this feature limited to Smotryc'kyj, or was it part of Ruthenian oratory in the period?

69 See Riccardo Picchio, "The Isocolic Principle in Old Russian Literature," in *Slavic Poetics: Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky,* ed. R. Jakobson, C. H. van Schooneveld, and D. S. Worth (The Hague, 1973), pp. 299-331, and Riccardo Picchio, "The Impact of Ecclesiastic Culture on Old Russian Literary Techniques," in *Medieval Russian Culture,* ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Michael S. Flier (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 247-79.

70 Frank E. Sysyn, "Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (June 1984): 169.

centuries offer fascinating insights into the creation of an *usus scribendi* that drew on a great variety of sources and models. Needed at this point are detailed investigations of that usage, ranging from questions of orthography and lexicon to rhetoric and style. Such studies may add to our knowledge of the ways in which Smotryc'kyj and others adapted Latin learning to Orthodox traditions in their efforts to establish a new Ruthenian way of writing.

University of California, Berkeley

DOCUMENTS

A Missing Volume of the Ruthenian Metrica: Crown Chancery Documents for Ukrainian Lands, 1609-1612, from the Kornik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences*

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted

The first known formal inventory of the Crown Metrica—the record books for outgoing official documents of the royal chancery of the Kingdom of Poland—was prepared in 1673. It lists volumes returned from Sweden in 1664 that had been taken from the Royal Castle in Warsaw during the Swedish invasion of 1655.[1] The 1673 inventory was prepared by Stefan Hankiewicz (d. before 1704), then the Crown Metrykant, that is, the chancery official in charge of the Crown Metrica.[2] Hankiewicz listed a separate

My research in Poland for this article was carried out while I was an exchange scholar at the Institute of History of Warsaw University under the auspices of the academic exchange program operated by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX). I am exceedingly grateful to IREX for making possible this research visit, as well as subsequent research visits in the USSR, where I had the opportunity to compare the related manuscript volumes in Moscow.

I thank the Kornik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and particularly its director, Professor Jerzy Wistocki, for arranging my visit and facilitating my research. I also benefited from the resources of the Main Archive of Early Acts in Warsaw (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie-hereafter AGAD) and the Central State Archive of Early Acts (Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnykh aktov - hereafter, TsGADA) in Moscow, and the assistance of the staff in both these institutions.

This article owes much to the advice and assistance of Dr. Irena Sutkowska-Kurasiowa of the Institute of History (PAN) in Warsaw. A summary of its contents was presented at my seminar at the Institute of History (PAN) in Warsaw in December 1986. Again I am grateful to IREX for a travel grant supporting my visit to Poland at that time, during which I was able to verify the final text.

1 An earlier list (dating from 1627) of metrica books from the main chancery is to be found in a contemporary inscription book of the Crown Metrica; see fn. 50 below.

2 "Inwentarz ksiąg w Metrice Koronney oboiey to iest w wielkiey y w matey będących. . . ." Following a page-and-a-half introduction, there is an added Latin title, "Synopsis seu connotatio variorum librorum vulgo Metrica Regni dictorum, decreta, inscriptiones, privilegia, legationes, lustrationes in se continentium. . .et per Suecos. . .tempore incursionis receptorum, ex Suecia vero in Regnum Poloniae vigore pactorum Olivensium restitutorum. . .notariatu g-si d-ni Stephani Casimiri Hankiewic S. R. M-tis secretarii.. .accuratissime et diligentissime collecta et ad ordinem reducta ac notis alphabeticis et numero signata. . . ." Biblioteka Ossolineum PAN (Wroclaw), MS 137 (36 fols.). The only extant seventeenth-century copy of this inven-

subseries of twenty-four volumes pertaining to Ukrainian lands: "Documents, or Ruthenian and Polish Books, of the Palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, Kiev, and Chernihiv, in which are found Decrees, Privileges, Inscriptions, as well as Other Various Matters."[3] Hankiewicz was also the last chancery official to hold the separate office of judicial clerk *(pisarz dekretowy*) for the Ruthenian series. The latest volume listed, which he prepared himself (with documents dating from 1652 to 1673), is the last known one in the separate series.

Hankiewicz usually starts his brief description of each book by indicating the color and fabric of the binding and then the reigning monarch under whom the volume was prepared. He cites the chancellor and/or vice-chancellor responsible for each volume and the years of the documents included. He usually gives the official clerk or scribe *{pisarz)* who prepared—and presumably also recorded-the documents. The volumes are numbered 1 through 24 on the right-hand margin, but before every number Hankiewicz indicates a Latin letter "sub litera," under which the volume is classified. For the twenty-four volumes in the Ruthenian series cited in this list, Hankiewicz assigns the letters A through Z (omitted are "J" and "U," then not used in the Polish/Latin alphabet).

Hankiewicz also omits the letter "P" in the sequence. On a separate line, where "P" should have been, he notes that he does not find any books from the years 1608, 1609, and 1610.[4] In the separate summary register of documents in all of the books of the Ruthenian series, which Hankiewicz prepared soon afterwards, an additional five volumes are listed at the end following the A-1 through Z-24 sequence.[5] Included there is a partially

tory is now located in the Manuscript Division of the Ossolineum Library in Wroclaw, and there is every reason to believe it is one of the four originals Hankiewicz claimed to have prepared. The inventory is listed with its full Latin title in the 1881 catalogue of the Ossolineum manuscript collection in Lviv by Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Ossolinianae Leopoliensis*, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1881), pp. 191-92 (no. 137). It was transferred to Wroclaw in 1946. A photocopy is now located in AGAD.

3 "Acta abo ksiegi Ruskie, y Polskie woiewodztw Wołynskiego, Bracławskiego, Kiiowskiego, y Czerniechowskiego, w ktorych znayduią sie tak dekreta przywileie, zapisy, iako y inne rozne rzeczy," fols. 19-20v.

4 "Tu niedostaie Ksiegi Rokow 1608.9.10."

5 AGAD, TzwML VIII. 1: "Index actorum publicorum, albo Regestr xiag y w nich spraw, przywileiow, dekretow krolewskich do woiewodztw czterech: Kijowskiego, z kancelariey koronney od roku 1569 do 1673 inclusive za staraniem, praca y kosztem wlasnym Stefana Kazimierza Hankewicza anno 1673." Stanisław Ptaszycki (S. L. Ptashitskii) listed the register among inventories of the Metrica complex in St. Petersburg at the end of the nineteenth century, *Opisanie knig i aktov Litovskoi metriki* (St. Petersburg, 1887), no. **VIII.** - 1. The Ptaszycki inventory is reprinted together with marginal indications of the present-day archival designations in *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw: Reconstructing the Archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,* by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted with the collaboration of Irena

overlapping small volume, apparently found later, with documents (predominantly legal decrees) from the years 1605-1609, designated by the letters "XF." Hankiewicz never found a volume with any documents from the year 1610 or one designated "P," and no subsequent known inventory covering this series indicates the existence of a volume under the letter "P."[6] There is no mention of such a volume or even of its absence in the latest (1975) inventory of the Crown Metrica prepared in AGAD in Warsaw, which, like Hankiewicz, also includes a separate subsection devoted to the Ruthenian series.[7]

The twenty-four volumes listed by Hankiewicz are now all held in Moscow in the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGADA), together with the five additional volumes in the series listed by Hankiewicz in his later summary register and included in the Ruthenian series by other later inventories.[8] This series, together with the rest of the Crown Metrica, was taken to St. Petersburg from Warsaw in 1796, following the Third Partition of Poland (1795), and was listed in the initial (1798) St. Petersburg inventory of Commonwealth archival records prepared there.[9] Most of the Crown

Sułkowska-Kurasiowa (Cambridge, Mass., 1984). Hankiewicz gives a Latin title for the 1605-1609 volume in question (the volume itself lacks a formal title page): "Sequitur Liber sub literis XF. ab Ao 1605. ad Am 1609" (fol. 86) and lists the documents it includes (fols. 86-87). The original volume (85 fols.) is now held in TsGADA, fond 389, no. 218 (previous no. 29-X.F.; MK 321).

6 I discuss the whole Ruthenian series and describe fully all extant inventories in my article, "On the Trail of the Ruthenian Metrica: Administrative Distinction and Archival Confusion in Polish Crown Chancery Records for Ukrainian Lands, 1569-1673," forthcoming.

7 *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej. Ksiegi wpisów i dekretów polskiej kancelarii królewskiej z lat 1447-1795,* compiled by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and Maria Wozniakowa (Warsaw, 1975), pp. 229-40. The Ruthenian series appears as a subgroup under the title "Ksiegi spraw ruskich (wołyńskich) Metryki Koronnej (Metryka Ruska lub Wołyńska), 1569-1673" (Books of Ruthenian [Volhynian] Affairs of the Crown Metrica [Ruthenian or Volhynian Metrica], 1569-1673). This inventory describes twenty-nine volumes of the series in Moscow, although only twenty-eight should be so considered. (My article cited in fn. 6 gives an explanation of which volumes should and should not be considered part of the series.) It quotes the descriptions of each volume in all the earlier inventories available. Unfortunately, the Warsaw compilers did not have access to the books themselves; accordingly, they could not provide *de visu* descriptions of the manuscript volumes in TsGADA, nor could they correct the many errors and misconceptions in their earlier manuscript descriptions.

8 TsGADA, fond 389, nos. 191 -220.

9 "Rospisanie del, Metriki Pol'skoi i Litovskoi do vnutrenniago pravleniia nadlezhashchikh. . .ot 1-go maia 1798-go goda ukazu k dostavleniiu v Pravitel'stvuiushchii Senat" (83 fols.). The only known manuscript copy is held in Warsaw, AGAD, TzwML VIII.37. Most of the inventory, omitting the final Section D, was published in *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo, soderzhashchaia v sebe diplomaticheskie snosheniia Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolia Sigismunda-Avgusta (s 1545 po 1572 god),* by I. N. Danylovych (Danilovich) and M. A. Obolenskii, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1843), 1: 327-418, as revised by Vasyl'

Metrica, pertaining as it did to lands then occupied by Prussia, was subsequently returned to Warsaw, but because the Ruthenian series, as part of a large collection of archival records from the Commonwealth (which included other parts of the Crown Metrica and the similar record books from the royal chancery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, known as the Lithuanian Metrica), pertained specifically to Ukrainian lands then part of the Russian Empire, they were retained in St. Petersburg. Accordingly, the Ruthenian series was listed in the 1887 published inventory covering the larger collection of which these volumes then formed a part—under the misleading title "Lithuanian Metrica."[10] Although the other remaining parts of the Crown Metrica were subsequently returned to Warsaw, the Ruthenian series has been kept in Moscow since 1888, initially in the prerevolutionary Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Justice (MAMIu) and now in TsGADA. They are now part of the fond of the Lithuanian Metrica in TsGADA, where the 1887 inventory is still used as its official inventory.[11]

The record books involved are technically a subseries of the Crown Metrica, which contains official documents pertaining to Ukrainian lands issued by the Crown chancery between the years 1569 and 1673. In Polish scholarship the series is cited within the Crown Metrica as the Ruthenian or Volhynian Metrica (*Metryka Ruska* or *Metryka Wołyńska*).[12] Technically the volumes are Crown chancery inscription books, in which are recorded various charters, privileges, bequests, and other official documents issued by the main Crown chancery, and, in some books, by the vice chancery (sometimes called the minor chancery), pertaining to the Crown palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, Kiev, and (after 1635) Chernihiv. The books also contain copies of legal decrees from the Sejm (Diet) court, although for a few periods these decrees form separate books in the series, and they often form separate fascicles within books. The series starts appropriately at the time when these palatinates came under Crown jurisdiction as a result of the Union of Lublin in 1569.

Anastasevych in 1817. The Ruthenian section in question was listed as A-1-304.A—A-1-332.S.B.

10 See the 1887 inventory compiled by Ptaszycki, pp. 108–111 (nos. I.A-1-32; nos. 31 and 33 in that section, which are not part of the series, were later returned to Warsaw).

11 See the discussion of the Crown Ruthenian series in my introduction to *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw*, pp. 31-33. An appendix provides a chart of the Crown Metrica Ruthenian series: ibid., appendix 7, pp. A-103-A-105.

12 See, for example, *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej*, pp. 229-30.

Previously these lands had been under the jurisdiction of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and documents issued pertaining to them were always inscribed in the appropriate books of the Lithuanian chancery, known as the Lithuanian Metrica. Whereas Latin was used for most chancery documents and court records in Crown lands and hence for record books of the Crown Metrica, by the mid-sixteenth century Ruthenian had become predominant for inscriptions in the Lithuanian Metrica and in local court record books in territories throughout the Grand Duchy. Accordingly, official documents leading up to the Act of Union in July 1569 guaranteed the continued use of the Ruthenian language by the Crown chancery for documents pertaining to these areas, as well as by local courts and court offices. Ruthenian predominated as the language of administration and justice in these palatinates through the early seventeenth century, but then it gradually gave way to Polish.[13] The separate Ruthenian series of the Crown Metrica continued with volumes covering documentation through 1673, by which time the Ruthenian language had been replaced completely by Polish as the major language of administration and justice in the Ukrainian palatinates. Crown chancery documents pertaining to the western Ukrainian lands, namely the Polish palatinates of Ruthenia and Belz, which had been subject to the Crown since the fourteenth century, and to the palatinate of Podolia, which had been established under Crown administration in the fifteenth century, were all recorded in Latin in the appropriate basic books of the Crown Metrica, and this practice continued after the Union.

In addition to the twenty-eight volumes held in TsGADA, one additional extant volume, with documents issued by the Crown chancery during the years 1609 to 1612, can now be identified conclusively as belonging to the same series. This relatively small volume is now held in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the castle of Kornik, near Poznań.[14]

[13] On language usage for local record books, see the helpful article by N. N. Iakovenko, "O iazykom sostave grodskikh i zemskikh knig Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy na protiazhenii **XVII** veka," in *Istoriograficheskie i istochnikovedcheskie problemyotechestvennoi istorii. Istochniki po sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Rossii i Ukrainy XVII–XIXvekov. Mezhvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov,* ed. M. P. Koval's'kyi (N. P. Koval'skii) et al. (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1983), pp. 64-72. Regarding chancery language use, see also the study by Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569-1667* (Lille, 1938; "Travaux et Mémoires de l'Universite de Lille, n.s., Droit et Lettres," 20), especially pp. 38-51.

[14] Kornik MS 323 (61 fols.). There is no published catalogue for Kornik manuscripts through no. 1788, although copies of an early typewritten (multilith) catalogue with hand- and typewritten additions are available in several Polish libraries, including the Manuscript Divi-

In this volume, as in several others in the series, there is no formal title page, but the first—and also apparently a second—folio is missing. Thus the text begins immediately, and an initial document may be missing. (It seems that the formal title pages of volumes having them were later additions, probably from the time of Hankiewicz.)[15]

An added title is inscribed on the volume's cover; like titles for other volumes in the series, it identifies the volume as a "Book of Ruthenian (*ruskich*) Affairs" under Sigismund III that came from the Crown vice-chancery of Feliks Kryski, kept by the clerk, or scribe (*pisarz*; Ruthenian, *pysar)*, Jan Marcinkiewicz.[16] Feliks Szczesny Kryski (1562-1618) served as vice-chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland from 1609 until 1613, when he became chancellor.[17]

Actually, two clerks (or scribes) were responsible for the volume, since the first twelve folios contain ten documents prepared by Oleksandr Krupets'kyi (Pol. Aleksander Krupecki), dating from 17 February through 24 July 1609.[18] The entries signed by Jan Marcinkiewicz start with the date 16 October 1609 (fol. 14) and continue through 3 December 1612, the final document at the end of the volume.[19] One additional document in Polish, which technically should have been included in the main inscription books of the Crown Metrica, appears in this volume on folio 13. This is a charter

sion of the National Library in Warsaw. It was in this catalogue, while searching for other manuscripts, that I found the listing "Xsiegi spraw Ruskich K.I.M.," which first aroused my interest and suspicions about the volume in question. A microfilm of the volume is available in the Microform Division of the National Library in Warsaw, no. 3486.

15 This definitely appears to be the case with the Latin titles now found in many of the volumes. For example, the volume currently numbered 216 (earlier no. X.D.–26/27; MK 308), dating from 1576-1584, has the Latin title page (now fol. I) "Liber decretorem palatinatinum Kyoviae Volhyniae Braslaviae et Czerniechoviae..." (although Chernihiv did not exist as a separate palatinate before 1631), apparently added in the early eighteenth century, and the fragment of an earlier title (on a restored folio [now fol. II]).

16 ''Xiegi spraw rvskich K.I.M. Zigmvnta III za iasnie wielmoznego Sczesnego Kriskiego podkanclerzego koronnego przes Jana Marcinkiewicza, 1609-1612.''

17 See the essay by Jarema Maciszewski in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereafter, *PSB)* 15: 482-85.

18 Oleksandr Oleksovych Krupets'kyi (Pol. Aleksander Oleksowicz Krupecki; ca. 1570-1652), a nobleman from Volhynia, served as *pysar* in the chancery of Sigismund III until 1609, when he was granted the bishopric of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') (15.IX.1609), succeeding the last Orthodox bishop. He took orders in the Uniate Church in 1610 (his religious name was Atanazy), and initiated a period of religious controversy for the bishopric. See the essay by Halina Kowalska in *PSB* 15: 406-407.

19 There is no entry for Marcinkiewicz in *PSB*, and I have been unable to locate biographical data elsewhere. A contingent volume of the Crown Metrica contains a document that grants him the royal village of Lomzyca in the district of Łomża (AGAD, MK 153, fol. 474-474v). Although all but one of the documents are in Ruthenian, Marcinkiewicz signs his name in Polish in Latin letters; hence, I use the Polish form.

granting Krupets'kyi the bishopric of Przemysl (Peremyshl') (15.IX. 1609), signed by Jan Kuczborski, who was *pisarz* for other Latin books in the Crown chancery.[20]

The two different watermarks in the paper in the volume correspond to the two different scribes, which suggests that their sections were initially separate fascicles later bound together. The first twelve folios are on contemporary paper of Austrian origin from the paper-mill of Hans Eiseler in Wels-Schwiesen, which operated between 1599 and 1619.[21] The paper of folios 13 through 61 can not yet be conclusively identified, but the watermark appears closest to a Silesian paper with the three lilies of Nysa (Ger. Neise) from the early seventeenth century.[22]

There are conclusive reasons to consider this volume a part of the Ruthenian series: (1) the exact resemblance of its documentary contents to the other volumes in that series; (2) the overlap in chancery personnel responsible for it; (3) its completion of a gap in the series, in terms of the chronological sequence of documents; (4) its physical resemblance to adjacent volumes in the Ruthenian series and other volumes of the Crown Metrica.

The documents inscribed in the volume all conform to the type and nature of documents to be found in other volumes of the Ruthenian series.[23] Of the fifty-three documents the volume contains, fifty-one are in Ruthenian and only two (nos. 11 and 32) are in Polish. Only two are judicial decrees, whereas fifty-one are royal charters of privilege or other chancery inscrip-

20 Jan Ogończyk Kuczborski (ca. 1572-1614) later became the Roman Catholic bishop of Chełm. See the essay by Wiesław Müller in *PSB* 16:71-72. The charter was probably entered here because it relates directly to Krupets'kyi, who was responsible for the previous entries. I have not located an additional copy of this document in the contingent inscription book of the Crown Metrica.

21 The watermark has a coat of arms with the inscription "WERGOT VERTRAVAT MATWOL GEBAVT HANSEEISEL." See Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austrian-Hungarian Empire and their Watermarks* (Hilversum, Holland, 1960; "Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia," 8), p. 66 (nos. 873-76). A tracing of the watermark in the paper of the initial folios is also provided by Edmundas Laucevicius, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV-XVIIIa.* (Vilnius, 1967), no. 3377.

22 It appears to represent a triad of fleurs-de-lis within a crest topped by a crown, although the wire frame used was badly worn and the third lily is seriously distorted. The closest representation I have yet found is Piccard's, vol. 13, no. 1443 or 1444, dating from 1610, which he identifies with documents from Heilsberg, East Prussia or Cracow. See Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Lilie* (Stuttgart, 1983, "Die Wasserzeichen kartei Piccard im Haupstaatenarchiv Stuttgart," XIII). See the tracing of the Nysa fleur-de-lis triad by Kazimiera Maleczyńska, *Dzieje starego papiernictwa śląskiego* (Wrocław, 1961, "Monografie śląskie Ossolineum," IV), p. 170.

23 For a systematic list of the documents with their dates and place of issue, see the appendix to this article.

tions. All fifty-one documents were issued in the name of King Sigismund **III,** who ruled the Commonwealth from 1587 to 1632, and most bear the signature of the responsible *pysar*.

While approximately one-third of the documents were issued in Warsaw, other places of issue follow the king's journeys throughout the Commonwealth during the years 1609 to 1612. Interestingly enough, twenty-one of the documents, dating from October 1609 through May 1611, were issued during the long encampment at Smolensk, which coincided with the Polish invasion of Muscovy during the Time of Troubles. One document issued in Vilnius on 27 May 1612 (no. 50) extended a moratorium on affairs of state during the expedition of the royal army to Moscow.

Six of the documents grant privileges for cities or towns and their guilds, similar to those found in other volumes of the Ruthenian series discussed in recent publications by the Dnipropetrovs'k historian Mykola Koval's'kyi.[24] Of particular significance is one new charter of municipal privileges *(fundatsiia)* under Magdeburg law, issued in 1612 for the town of Konstantyniv (in the Ruthenian original, *Kon stantynov*; now Starokostiantyniv) within the Volhynian domains of Janusz, Prince Ostrogski (no. 45).[25] This is the only known copy of that charter.

Two documents issued by Sigismund **III** are reconfirmations of municipal privileges granted earlier, namely, privileges granted under Magdeburg

[24] See, especially, M. P. Koval's'kyi (N. P. Koval'skii), *Istochnikovedenie sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Ukrainy (XVI–pervaia polovina XVII v.). Akty o gorodakh. Uchebnoe posobie* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1983), which includes tables listing such documents in other books of the Ruthenian series (pp. 67-69). Koval's'kyi incorrectly describes these books as originating in the Lithuanian chancery, undoubtedly because, as explained earlier, they are now held in TsGADA as part of the Lithuanian Metrica collection (fond 389). See also Koval's'kyi's article, "Lokatsionnye i magdeburgskie gramoty gorodam Ukrainy v sostave koronnykh knig zapisei 'Litovskoi metriki,' vtoroi poloviny XVI–pervoi poloviny XVII veka," in *Istoriograficheskie i istochnikovedcheskie problemy otechestvennoi istorii,* pp. 3— 15.

[25] In 1561, a charter of privilege had been issued by Sigismund Augustus to Konstantin, Prince of Ostroh (Ukr. Kostiantyn Ostroz'kyi), father of Janusz, to found the city of Starokostiantyniv (Pol. Konstantynow Stary), as explained in *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* 11:257. A reconfirmation (*potverzhen'ie*) of Magdeburg privileges was issued in 1637 (see ibid., 4: 363), but the present 1612 charter is not mentioned in this or other sources I have examined. See also Michał Baliński and Tymoteusz Lipiński, *Starozytna Polska,* 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1886), 3:98-99. Neither is it mentioned by O. Baranovych, "Pans'ke misto za chasiv pol's'koi derzhavy (Staryi Kostiantyniv)," *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN,* vol. 27. Janusz Ostrogski's brother Aleksander was given a Magdeburg charter for the neighboring city of Novokostantyniv (Pol., Konstantynow Nowy), in 1600; he received a new charter in 1623 after the Tatar raids. (See Baliński and Lipiriski, 3:205–206, and *Slownik geograficzny,* 4:362-63). Koval's'kyi does not list either Staro- or Novokostantyniv among Magdeburg cities and towns in Ukrainian lands.

law to the towns of Kovel' (no. 37)[26] and Vyzhva (now Nova Vyzhva; no. 39).[27] Two other documents reconfirm rights and privileges given to the guilds of tailors and tanners in Luts'k (no. 4) and to the guilds of butchers and other artisans in Kovel' (no. 38).[28] In the Kovel' document, there are also provisions restricting the habitation of Jews to specific areas of the city. Another document grants the right to hold fairs to the town of Brahyliv (now Brailiv, in Zhmerynka raion of Vinnytsia oblast; no. 15). In this case the document also has a fiscal purpose, since revenue from the fairs is assigned to Jan Potocki (Ian Potots'kyi), palatine of Bratslav, in return for his loan of 2,000 złotys to the Crown.

Approximately one-third of the documents in the Kornik volume are royal grants of land or villages to individuals in the palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav. Twelve of them are direct grants (Ruthenian, *danyna*; Pol. *danina* or *nadanie)* of plots, land strips, or villages;[29] and seven confer permission to sell or transfer lands or villages.[30] To these figures should be added five documents granting lands or villages from estates or intestate estates, and one confirming a grant of a village within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (no. 5).[31] There are three documents conveying church property. One permits the transfer of two churches in Kremenets' from father to son (no. 26), and another grants the Golden-Domed Monastery of Saint Michael the Archangel with all its lands to the jurisdiction of Ipatii Potii, the Uniate metropolitan of Kiev and of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev (no. 51). A third is a blank royal letter

[26] The document notes that Kovel' had previously been granted Magdeburg privileges by Queen Bona and by King Sigismund II Augustus; in fact, Kovel' had already been granted Magdeburg privileges by King Sigismund I in 1518. The original charter is held in AGAD, Zbior Dokumentów Pergaminowych, no. 4792 (Koval's'kyi cites the earlier Ptaszycki designation ML X.216—*Istochnikovedenie*, p. 8, and p. 85, fn. 8). An abbreviated version of the present Kovel' charter is published in *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 5, vol. 1, section 1 (Kiev, 1869): 59–60 (now TsDIA UkrSSR v Kieve, fond 35, opys 1, sprava 1, fol. 94, old no. 1477).

[27] The charter confirms the Magdeburg privileges granted in 1548 by Queen Bona. See *Słownik geograficzny* 14: 166, and Baliński and Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, 3: 73. Neither of these sources cite this charter. Koval's'kyi does not refer to Magdeburg privileges for Vyzhva.

[28] Although other guilds in Luts'k and Kovel' are referenced in documents of other Ruthenian Metrica books listed by Koval's'kyi, he does not mention these specific guilds in *Istochnikovedenie* pp. 31-39, and the appended list, p. 69. Compare the guild documents published by Koval's'kyi in *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii po podgotovke k spetsseminaru po istochnikovedeniiu istorii Ukrainy XVI–XVII vekov (Tsekhovye ustavy gorodov Ukrainy)* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1986), pp. 16-30, from contingent books of the Ruthenian Metrica in TsGADA.

[29] Nos. 3, 6, 9, 10, 16, 19, 20, 23 (revoked by no. 32), 33-35, and 43

[30] Nos. 2, 17, 24, 29, 31, 44, and 52.

[31] Nos. 14, 30, 36, 40, and 42.

granting the parish and Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Redeemer in the town of Ovruch (no. 48), but the recipient's name was not filled in. Only one of the land grants involve Left-Bank territories (no. 32)—namely, after his return to Warsaw in October 1611, Sigismund III made a grant of "the unoccupied town of Kozary, beyond the Dnieper and Desna" to the Ruthenian scribe in the Crown chancery, Florian Oleshko (Oleszko), who was associated with many other books of the Ruthenian Metrica.[32] Three documents concern principally monetary matters, namely, the grants of rents (*arenda*; no. 7), the right to the income from specified taxes (no. 27), and a receipt of funds (no. 46).

Eleven of the fifty-three documents are grants of offices. These posts include the treasurer of Kiev (no. 1), the starosta of Ostroh (no. 28), judges of the land court of Bratslav (nos. 8 and 12), the clerk of the land court of Krem"ianets' (no. 53), the parish priest of Horodyshche (no. 25), the major domo *(stol'nyk)* of Bratslav (no. 13), the master of the hunt (*lovchyi*) of Bratslav (no. 21), and the swordbearer (*mechnyk*) of Volhynia (no. 22). One of the two Polish-language documents in the volume grants the bishopric of Przemyśl to Oleksandr Krupets'kyi (no. 11).[33] Finally, in this connection there is a document appointing and confirming Fedor Khodyka as mayor *(voit)* of Kiev (no. 49) from the list of four candidates chosen by the citizens of the city.

Two other miscellaneous documents include a mandate (*plenipotentia*) for the mayor of Sanok to proceed with judicial affairs in the absence of Stanisław Mniszek, who was resigning as starosta (no. 18), and a description of a parish in the town of Ovruch (no. 48). As already mentioned, there are only two legal decrees from the Sejm court in the Kornik book; both involve the adjudication of possession of villages—one in the palatinate of Volhynia (no. 41), the other in Kiev (no. 47). All of these types of documents correspond closely to those found in other books of the Ruthenian series and in the main Latin-language series of the Crown Metrica.

In terms of the overlap in chancery personnel responsible for the Kornik volume and its completion of a gap in the series, mention should be made of the chronologically contiguous books of the Ruthenian Metrica. The previous volume "O-14" listed in the Hankiewicz *Inwentarz/Synopsis*[34] contains an initial section of inscriptions for the years 1603, 1604, and 1605 from the

[32] On Oleshko, see below, fn. 39. One additional document granted permission to transfer two Left-Bank villages in the Oster district of the Kiev palatinate (no. 29).

[33] See fn. 18 above.

[34] Now TsGADA, fond 389, no. 204 (MK 320; earlier signature "14-O").

vice-chancery of Piotr Tylicki, bishop of Warmia,[35] with the clerk or scribe Zakhariia Ielovyts'kyi (Zachariasz Jełowicki), master of home defense (*voiskyi*) of Krem''ianets' (Pol. Krzemieniec).[36] There is a second major section with documents dated 1605, 1606, and 1607, from the vice-chancery and then the chancery of Maciej Pstrokoński, Roman Catholic bishop of Przemyśl[37] with Ielovyts'kyi continuing as scribe.

As explained above, volume ''X.F.-29,'' was not listed in Hankiewicz's initial inventory but was included in his later summary register; it lacks a title page.[38] To the extent the documents are signed, nearly all were prepared by the clerk or royal scribe, Florian Oleshko (Pol. Florian Oleszko), master of home defense *(voiskyi)* of Volodymyr (Pol. Wlodzimierz; now Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi). He also held the title of royal secretary *(sekretarz krolewski)?*[9] The documents recorded in the first fascicles of volume "X.F-29" overlap chronologically with those in the previous volume, again with documents from the vice-chancery (February 1605–April 1606) of Maciej Pstrokoriski, bishop of Przemyśl. The volume continues with documents from the period after Pstrokoriski became chancellor (April 1606–January 1609), but its last fascicles also include documents from the chancery of Wawrzyniec Gembicki, bishop of Kujawy and later archbishop of Gniezno.[40] Judicial decrees from the Sejm court predominate in this volume; there are less than a dozen other inscriptions.

35 Piotr Tylicki served as vice-chancellor from April 1593 to February 1605, and was responsible for volumes "M" (now fond 389, no. 202), "N" (now no. 203), as well as ''O''(now no. 204). He became chancellor in 1605 and held that post through March 1606.

36 Biographical data is scant for Ielovyts'kyi (Jetowicki) (d. 1630), but he is mentioned by Adam Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 9 (Warsaw, 1907), p. 7. In addition to his Krem''ianets' title, he held the title of Crown secretary *(sekretarz)* from 1607. He was later appointed *stolnik* of Kiev. He appears as the *pysar* of record in volumes "M" (now fond 389, no. 202), ''O'' (now no. 204), "T" (now no. 208), "W" (now no. 210), and "X" (now no. 211). Interestingly enough, he had earlier served in the Lithuanian chancery and was the scribe responsible for a volume of inscriptions dated 1680-1681 from the Lithuanian Metrica, mentioned (but not summarized) by Hankiewicz as "Y– 22" and now housed with the Ruthenian series (TsGADA, fond 389, no. 212).

37 Pstrokoński (ca. 1553-1609) became vice-chancellor in February 1605 and chancellor in April 1606. He was ordained bishop of Wroclaw just before his death in 1609. See the article by Halina Kowalska in *PSB* 29: 265-71.

38 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 218 (MK 321; earlier signature "29-X.F.").

39 Florian Oleshko (Oleszko; ca. 1565-1628), who was of Volhynian origin, served as *pysar* and *sekretarz krolewski;* he was associated with many of the books of the Ruthenian Metrica, including "G-7" (now TsGADA, fond 389, no. 197), ''L-11'' (now no. 201), ''N-13'' (now no. 203), and later ''Q-15'' (now no. 205) and ''S-17'' (now no. 207). See the biographical essay by Roman Zelewski in *PSB* 23: 758-59.

40 Gembicki (1559-1624) served as vice-chancellor (1604/5-1609) and subsequently chancellor during the years 1609-1613. See the essay by Adam Przybos in *PSB* 7: 382-84.

The last document dates from 24 February 1609, a week after the initial document in the Kornik volume.

The Kornik volume begins chronologically with a document from 17 February 1609, so that only this document overlaps with the final documents of "X.F.-29." Like the preceding volumes, the Kornik book records outgoing Crown chancery documents in the Ruthenian language for the Ukrainian Right-Bank palatinates. However, in contrast to "X.F.-29" and to the first part of the subsequent volume ''Q-15'' (see below) in which judicial decrees predominate, the Kornik volume largely contains privileges and other inscriptions, together with only two judicial decrees. Rather than servicing the Crown vice-chancellors and later chancellors Pstrokoński and Gembicki, both of whom were ecclesiastic, it was prepared for the lay vice-chancellor Kryski.[41]

The numerically subsequent but chronologically partially overlapping volume "Q-15" contains predominantly legal decrees from the main chancery for the years 1611-1613,[42] a continuation of those recorded in "X.F.-29." It, too, was prepared by the clerk Florian Oleshko. Its first section contains documents from the chancery of Wawrzyniec Gembicki, and its final section contains those from the chancery of Feliks Kryski, who was promoted to main chancellor following Gembicki in 1613.

Next come two chronologically overlapping additional volumes from the chancery of Kryski, both by scribes who had prepared earlier volumes. ''R-16'' is a direct continuation of the Kornik volume, with documents for the years 1613-1617, predominantly privileges and chancery inscriptions, prepared by Jan Marcinkiewicz, who served as *pysar* for most of the Kornik volume.[43] ''S-17'' continues the production of Florian Oleshko with predominantly decrees from the *Sejm* court for the years 1613-1620.[44]

From this analysis of the chronology of documents included, and of the clerks or scribes and the chancellors or vice-chancellors responsible for the extant volumes of the Ruthenian series, it is clear that the Kornik volume fills a gap in the series, both from the standpoint of documents contained and in view of the responsible scribes and chancellors.

41 During this period, Crown chancellors and vice-chancellors alternated between ecclesiastic and lay persons. Traditionally, a chancellor always started as vice-chancellor. When an ecclesiastic serving as vice-chancellor was promoted to chancellor, a lay person would be appointed as the new vice-chancellor and vice-versa.

42 Now TsGADA, fond 389, no. 205 (MK 322; earlier signature ''15-Q'').

43 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 206 (MK 323; earlier signature ''16-R'').

44 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 207 (MK 324; earlier signature ''17-S'').

In this period there were apparently two scribes simultaneously recording documents in the Ruthenian series. They produced separate fascicles that were later bound, usually as separate volumes. For binding, fascicles were usually grouped together by the responsible *pysar*, sometimes by the chancery of origin. Often a scribe serving the vice-chancellor would move on with him when his superior was promoted to chancellor, which explains why volumes of documents from the vice-chancery were not grouped separately from volumes of the main chancery, as was the practice for other volumes of the Crown Metrica. Also, during these years one scribe—in this case Oleshko—apparently handled mostly legal decrees, while the second recorded privileges and other documents.[45]

Apparently during these years the scribes who prepared the Ruthenian volumes were not (so far as can be determined) simultaneously preparing documents for the Latin-language volumes of inscriptions for the Crown Metrica. For example, neither the scribes for the Kornik volume, Krupets'kyi nor Marcinkiewicz, appear as scribes for the extant contemporaneous 1609-1613 volume of Crown inscriptions prepared in Latin for Kryski as vice-chancellor.[46] Nor does Marcinkiewicz figure in later Latin-language volumes of the Crown Metrica from the period of Kryski's chancery.[47] Yet one of the two documents in Polish in the Kornik volume, technically out of place in the Ruthenian series, was prepared by Kuczborski, who was active in Kryski's chancery and prepared other documents in the corresponding 1609-1613 volume of Crown inscriptions.[48] Furthermore, neither Zakhariia Ielovyts'kyi nor Florian Oleshko, the only other two scribes involved in the Ruthenian series during the years 1603 through 1618, figure in the contemporary Latin volumes of Crown inscriptions.[49]

The physical resemblances in size and binding to other volumes of the Crown Metrica further confirm the positive identification of the Kornik volume as belonging to the Ruthenian series and its immediate association with the Crown chancery (see figs. 6—9). The elaborate brown leather original royal binding, embossed with various seals containing miniature portraits and arranged in a geometric pattern, corresponds closely to the binding of the Latin books of chancery inscriptions of the Crown Metrica dating from the period when Kryski was vice-chancellor and later chancellor,

45 My analysis of these chancery practices comes only from a study of the books involved, since I have not yet found any contemporary documents that describe them.
46 See AGAD, MK 153.
47 See AGAD, MK 156, MK 160.
48 See AGAD, MK 153; for example, fols. 155v, 268v, 269v, 270v, 300-302v, and 308v.
49 See AGAD, MK 148 – MK 162.

which are also identified with his name.[50] Even more notably similar is the brown leather contemporary binding of the preceding volume in the Ruthenian series—''O-14,'' dating from 1603-1607, now held in Moscow. It is embossed with various seals containing miniature portraits arranged in an exactly similar geometric pattern as those on the binding of the Kornik volume.[51] In the case of the TsGADA volume "O-14," many of the embossed figures are ecclesiastic, which may reflect the fact that the responsible chancellor, Pstrokonski, was an ecclesiastic, whereas Kryski was a lay person. Other adjacent Kryski volumes in the series now held in Moscow do not have the same bindings, but some of these have been rebound or restored to an extent that ready description of the original binding is not possible.[52]

Recently uncovered facts about the history of the Kornik volume lead to a plausible explanation of when it was separated from the rest of the Crown Metrica, and how it came to be held in Kornik rather than in Moscow with the contiguous volumes of the Ruthenian series. Given its royal binding, one can safely assume that the Kornik volume was bound with the other volumes of the Crown Metrica in the early seventeenth century. Since it was a volume predominantly from the minor chancery, it does not necessarily figure in the only extant list of Crown Metrica books dating from 1627, although there are two books listed there that could refer to it.[53] Yet,

50 The best example among those volumes of the Crown Metrica that still have their original binding is the binding of AGAD, MK 153, a Crown chancery inscription book for the years 1609-1613, originating predominantly from Kryski's vice-chancery (fols. 62-524). Many of the same geometric patterns and the same embossed miniature portrait figures appear in other volumes with original bindings or fragments from the period (these include MK 148, 150, 151, 152, and 156, examined in AGAD). I appreciate the efforts of the director of the Kornik Library and the director of AGAD in Warsaw to arrange the transfer of the Kornik manuscript to AGAD, where I could examine it together with other books of the Crown Metrica.

51 TsGADA, fond 389, no. 204 (MK 320; earlier signature " 14-O").

52 Regrettably, during my last visit to TsGADA, when I had a picture of the Kornik binding with me, I was not permitted to reexamine all of the contingent books requested.

53 ''Regestrum actorum Cancell[ari]ae maioris. . .," AGAD, MK 176, fols. 1-3. No dates are given for books in the list, so positive correlations are not possible. Only one volume is mentioned as having been prepared by Jan Marcinkiewicz-"Item Ruthenicum librum vnum a Joanne Marcinkiewicz conscriptum''; he was also the scribe of record for the main chancery volume ''R-16.'' Only one volume is connected with the scribe Krupets'kyi, but it also has the name of Ielovyts'kyi–''Item librum Ruthenicum a Krupecki et Jelowicki conscriptum"; although the Kornik volume is the only one extant in which Krupets'kyi served as scribe, Ielovyts'kyi did not participate in it. Incidently, Ielovyts'kyi was still the Ruthenian scribe when the 1627 list was prepared and had been the second Ruthenian scribe earlier, from 1598 to 1606. Possibly, then there was another volume, no longer extant, of chancery inscriptions in sequence between 1607 when Ielovyts'kyi completed **"0-14"** and 1609, when Krupets'kyi started the Kornik volume in which these two scribes participated. Otherwise, the listing might refer, mistakenly, to the Kornik volume, since its final section was produced when Kryski was

since the Kornik volume was later discovered in Sweden, it also seems safe to assume that it was kept with the rest of the Crown Metrica in the Royal Castle in Warsaw, and that it was taken to Sweden with the rest of the Crown Metrica in 1655 at the time of the Swedish invasion.[54] That it was not returned to Warsaw with the rest of the Crown Metrica is apparent by its absence from Hankiewicz's 1673 inventory.[55] There is no adequate explanation of how and why it was retained in Sweden, but it is one of the best preserved volumes in the series from the reign of Sigismund III, son of King John of Sweden and claimant to the Swedish throne.[56]

We now know that the volume remained in Sweden until 1810. In that year, the volume was among a collection of Polish manuscript books and other documents presented by the King of Sweden to Prince Adam Czartoryski.[57] The fourth item in a contemporary list of materials presented to Prince Adam describes it exactly.[58] Presumably, the volume would have then been taken to the Czartoryski estate at Puławy, at that time the family seat and location of their immense library and manuscript holdings (Biblioteka Puławska).

Information is not available about exactly when this particular volume was acquired by the library in Kornik, but it was surely sometime between the late 1830s and the 1860s. We can now assume that it was transferred to Kornik with many other manuscripts from the Czartoryski collection that were saved from the family library in Pulawy after the 1830 November uprising. It was then that the Pulawy Library as such was disbanded, with

already the main chancellor. As it turns out, however, there are thirteen "Ruthenian" books referred to in the 1627 list, and there are only thirteen Ruthenian volumes to 1627 extant (if we count the Kornik volume), which in whole or at least in part were a product of the main chancery.

54 There is no evidence that any Metrica volumes would have been taken at any other time. The introduction to Hankiewicz's 1673 inventory describes the location of the Metrica in the Royal Castle in Warsaw at the time of its seizure by Swedish forces in 1655.

55 See above, fns. 1 and 2.

56 The fact that it was one of the smallest volumes in the Metrica complex, and one with a particularly attractive binding, might have made it a good souvenir.

57 See the manuscript list in a miscellaneous volume of Czartoryski papers in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow: ''Specyfikacya ksiazek i dokumentów darowanych przez króla szwedzkiego mlodemu X. Ad. Czartoryskiemu," Biblioteka Czartoryskich (hereafter, BCz), MS 1182, fols. 237-43.

58 "Ksiegi spraw Ruskich za Zygmunta trzeciego za J. W. Szezesnego Kryskiego Podkanclerza Koronnego, przez Jana Marcinkiewicza fol. oprawne w skorse," BCz, MS 1182, fol. 237.

parts confiscated, parts evacuated into hiding, and other parts taken abroad.[59]

The volume was already an established part of the Kornik collection in 1870, when a catalogue of the library was prepared. It bears the earlier Kornik number "II 192" on the spine, which corresponds to the number in the 1870 manuscript catalogue prepared by Wojciech Kętrzyński.[60]

Although the original initial folio, which would have borne the familiar stamp of the Puławy Library, is missing, the volume is definitely tied to the Czartoryski collection by the number "1647" at the top right of its first folio. When the remaining parts of the Czartoryski collection were assembled in Cracow in the nineteenth century, that number was listed as missing in the detailed published catalogue of the Czartoryski Library.[61] Research by Karol Buczek prior to World War II ascertained that this volume was in fact from the Puławy collection. The master copy of the Kutrzeba catalogue in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow is marked accordingly, identifying number 1647 with Kornik number 323.[62]

Before my recent discovery of the Kornik manuscript in the list of those returned from Sweden in 1810, specialists in Cracow and Kornik supposed that the volume came to the Czartoryski family from the collection of Tadeusz Wiktor Czacki (1765-1813), the prominent political figure and notorious bibliophile and collector. Most of Czacki's collection, which had been assembled at his Volhynian estate of Poryts'k (Pol. Poryck), was purchased by the Czartoryski family in 1818/1819 and became part of their library at Pulawy.[63] All the manuscripts in the published Czartoryski catalogue through number 1549, and some later ones, came from the Czacki collection. They include numerous volumes of official papers from the Crown chancery, as well as the Naruszewicz collection, so it could easily

[59] See Karol Buczek, "Biblioteka Putawska w czasie walk powstania listopadowego," *Silva Rerum* 5(1930): 155-70.

[60] The catalogue is written in Chłapowski's hand; the second section–II–''Dzial Historyczny" is devoted to historical books (Kornik MS AB 276). The contemporaneous card catalogue dating from 1870-1875 now in Kornik corresponds to the same earlier numeration. However, the card for this particular manuscript volume was missing when I examined it in 1983, and librarians in Kornik could find no trace of it.

[61] Stanisław Kutrzeba. *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Musei Principum Czartoryski Cracoviensis*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1908-1913).

[62] I appreciate the assistance of Docent Adam Homecki, director of the Manuscript Division of the Czartoryski Library, in establishing these details and in making available to me the master catalogues. At the time of Buczek's research the Czartoryski family was seeking to revindicate the missing manuscripts from Kornik.

[63] See Karol Buczek, "Przyczynki do dziejow Biblioteki Poryckiej," *Przegląd Biblioteczny,* 1936, no. 4, pp. 206-212, and "Z przeszłości Biblioteki Muzeum XX. Czartoryskich (W sześćdziesiątą rocznice przeniesienia jej zbiorow do Krakowa)," ibid., 1936, no. 4, pp. 181-99.

have been assumed that this Crown Metrica register had likewise come from the Poryts'k collection. Catalogues of the Czacki collection remaining in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow show no sign of this manuscript,[64] however, thus corroborating its place among the materials returned from Sweden.

It is noteworthy that the subsequent volume in the Kornik collection is a volume of chancery papers from Kryski's chancery dating from 1613-1616.[65] In this case, however, the papers contained are fragments, rough drafts, and notes from diplomatic documents such as would later appear in a legation or ambassadorial register rather than in an inscription book of the Crown Metrica. The volume itself is not a completed, official chancery volume such as would have been prepared for the Crown Metrica. In further contrast to number 323, the volume has a white parchment binding. It bears a note that it was held in the eighteenth century in the library of Lukaszewicz; presumably, it came to Kornik through the bibliophile Jozef Łukaszewicz (1799-1873).

The Kornik volume is remarkable as the only known book of the Ruthenian Metrica that is not held with the Lithuanian Metrica complex in TsGADA. Many of the documents it contains appear to be unique copies of charters or other privileges issued by the Crown chancery during the years 1609-1612. Accordingly, it deserves in-depth study as a basic source for the history of Ukrainian lands in the early seventeenth century and for the socio-economic development of the region.

Harvard University

64 Catalogues available include "Reiestr Biblioteki Poryckiej ułożony po nieodzalowanym zgonie dla Tadeusza Czackiego," together with parts of other earlier catalogues (BCz MS 2916). Another one is also associated with Łukasz Gołebiowski: "Opis roznych rekopisow dotyczacych spraw polskich wiekow XVI i XVII z biblioteki Tadeusza Czackiego, piora Łukasza Gotebiowskiego" (BCz MS no. 1648; in this case there is a National Library microfilm, no. 16448). See Karol Buczek, "Przyczynki do dziejow Biblioteki Poryckiej; Przedmowa Lukasza Gotebiowskiego do rejestru Biblioteki Poryckiej," *PrzeglądBiblioteczny* 11 (1937): 22-33, and Buczek's earlier article cited in fn. 60.

65 Kornik MS 324. This volume has the cover title "Akta za kanclerstwa Szczęsnego Kryskiego, 1613-1616." It is also available in microfilm at the National Library in Warsaw (no. 3409).

The Kornik Volume of the Ruthenian Metrica: List of Crown Chancery Documents for Ukrainian Lands, 1609-1612

Kornik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences,
Manuscript 323

The following list gives brief, English-language summaries of each document contained in the volume, with notation of purpose and/or content and key individuals and/or localities involved.[66] Exact translation of legal terminology is not possible, so the attempt has been made, instead, to provide understandable English equivalents. In cases where documents do have a specific legal name, and for offices and other legal terms, the term is given in the language of the original Ruthenian in transliteration or in a variant form on the basis of the Latin and/or contemporary Polish equivalents.

The date and place of issue are given as found in the text of each document. Except for the two documents indicated "in Polish," all documents are in Ruthenian, rendered in Cyrillic characters.

Family names are a thorny problem because rendition in English forces a choice between Polish and Ruthenian forms when distinctions in ethnic or national identity during the period were often blurred, even within the same family. I have followed the principal of rendering known Polish family names in their Polish forms and Ruthenian names in their established Ukrainian forms. Where there is some question or a significant orthographic difference with modern usage, or when more than one form occurs in the text, alternate forms are given in parentheses.

The spelling of geographic names is given according to present location, so that places now in the Ukrainian SSR are rendered in Ukrainian, places now in Poland are rendered in Polish, and so forth. Alternate forms are given in parentheses where the present-day forms vary significantly from those found in the Ruthenian text. For many smaller villages it has been impossible to find either exact location or present equivalent; where the precise nominative form is in doubt, a question mark has been added following the reference. Since some passages of the manuscript are now virtually illegible, a few references and other details remain in question.

Folio indications for each document follow the latest numeration appearing at the top right corner of each folio.

66 I am most grateful to Joanna Swiecka, a graduate student in the Ukrainian program at Warsaw University, who transcribed the titles, summary data, and most of the text of the Kornik volume, under the guidance of Dr. Irena Sutkowska-Kurasiowa of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and to Dr. George Gajecky, associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard, who drafted an English translation of document titles, and he and Dr. Bohdan Struminsky assisted me in checking the original text.

List of Documents

1. 17.II.1609, Warsaw fol. 1-1v

Royal grant *(nadania)* of the office of treasurer of Kiev for life to Vasyl' Khodyka Krynyts'kyi (Krennyts'kyi), an inhabitant of the land of Kiev.

2. 26.II.1609, Warsaw fols. lv-2v

Sigismund III confirms the transfer *(vlyvok)* of land with the right to a monetary remuneration by the Czajkowski (Chaikovs'kyi) brothers, Franc and Adam, inhabitants of the Sochaczew district, to Jan Mikolajewski (Mykolaievs'kyi).

3. 26.II.1609, Warsaw fols. 2v-3v

Royal grant *(danyna)* of an uninhabited tract called Uman' and all its environs in the palatinate and district of Bratslav to Walentyn Aleksander Kalinowski, starosta of Bratslav and Vinnytsia. Florian Oleszko (Oleshko), *voiskyi* of Volodymyr, secretary, and royal scribe (*pysar*), Jarosz Czerlenkowski (Iarosh Cherlenkovs'kyi), master of the hunt (*lovchyi*), Stanisław Sułkowski, cupbearer (*podchashyi*), and Tsurkovs'kyi, *podstolii* of Bratslav, are appointed to measure and transfer the land.

4. 29.IV. 1609, Cracow fols. 3v-6v

Royal confirmation (*potverzhen'ie*) of the charter granted by King Sigismund II Augustus (1.VI.1564) to the guilds of tailors and tanners in Luts'k.

5. 27.V. 1609, Cracow fols. 7-8

Sigismund III orders that a privilege be entered in the chancery record book of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that Sigismund III has made a grant *{danyna)* to Stanisław Prusinowski and his wife Jadwiga for life of the hamlet of Mysliny in the district of Trakai (20.X.1608).

6. 8.VI.1609, Lublin fol. 8-8v

Royal grant in perpetuity *(danyna)* to Mikołaj Czarnocki of an empty lot in Luts'k as a reward for his military service in Moldavia.

7. 8.VI. 1609, Lublin fols. 9-1 Ov

Sigismund III confirms the lease *(arenda)* of the village of Kvasiv (now in Horokhiv raion, Volhynia oblast) by the land-court judge of Lviv, Piotr Ozga. The lifetime lease stipulates the yearly payment of 100 zlotys, due on the day of John the Baptist, to the bishop and cathedral chapter of Volodymyr (now Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi).

8. 11.VI.1609, Brest-Litovsk fols. 10v-ll

Royal grant *(danyna)* and confirmation for life of the office of judge of the land *(zemskyi)* court of the Bratslav palatinate to Stefan Czerlenkowski (Cherlenkovs'kyi).

9. 24.VII. 1609, Vilnius fols. 11v-12

Royal grant *(danyna)* to StanisJaw Kałuski and his wife Anna of four unoccupied plots (*voloky*) (1 voloka = 16.8 hectares) of land in the village of Moshchene (now Moshchone) in the starostwo of Kovel'.

10. 24.VH.1609, Vilnius fol. 12-12v

Royal grant *(danyna)* to Jan Moszeński for life of seven unoccupied plots *(voloky)* of land—three in the village of Oblapy in the starostwo of Kovel' and four on the island of Melekhovychi.

11. 15.IX.1609, Orsha fol. 13-13v

Royal grant *(danina)* of the bishopric of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') to the Crown secretary *(sekretarz),* Oleksandr Oleshkovych Krupets'kyi (Krupecki).
(In Polish)

12. 16.X.1609, in camp near Smolensk fol. 14-14v

Royal grant *(danyna)* of the office of judge of the land *(zemskyi)* court of Bratslav conferred for life to Jan Czerlenkowski (Cherlenkovs'kyi).

13. 18.X.1609, in camp near Smolensk fols. 14v-15

Royal grant *(danyna)* of the office of major domo *(stol'nyk)* of Bratslav conferred for life to Stefan Czerlenkowski (Cherlenkovs'kyi).

14. 9.XII.1609, in camp near Smolensk fols. 14v-15

Sigismund III grants to the soldier Samuel Prazyński (Pruzhyns'kyi) the intestate estate *(kaduk)* of Bogdan Prażyński.

15. 16.III.1610, near Smolensk fols. 15v-16

Royal letter of confirmation of rights for the town of Brahyliv (now Brailiv in Zhmerynka raion of Vinnytsia oblast) to hold open fairs *(torhy)* once a week on Fridays, and large fairs *(iarmarky)* twice annually--one on Saint George's Day [23 April, o.s.] and the other on Saint Peter's Day [29 June, o.s.]. Revenue from the fairs is to be given to Jan Potocki of Potok, palatine of Bratslav, in return for his loan of 2,000 złotys to the Crown.

16. 16.III.1610, near Smolensk fols. 16-17

Royal confirmation of a grant (*potverzhen'ie danyny)* for life to Iurii Rymyns'kyi, *voiskyi* of Luts'k, of the village of Serkovshchyzna and the land of Vesolytsia near the town of Ovruch.

17. 23.III.1610, near Smolensk fol. 17-17v

Royal permit *(pozvolenie)* to Semen Kurnevych granting the right to transfer the village of Hnidava in the starostwo of Luts'k to Wojciech Kobylski.

18. 21.IV.1610, near Smolensk fol. 18-18v

Attestation of royal command to Stanislaw Bonifacy Mniszek, who is resigning his post as starosta of Sanok in the Ruthenian palatinate, for the issuance of a mandate *(plenipotentsiia)* to Seweryn Krykawski, the burgrave (mayor) of Sanok, to proceed with pending judicial affairs of the city in his absence.

19. 30.IV.1610, near Smolensk fols. 18v-19

Royal grant *(danyna)* for life to Szczesny Kryski, Crown vice-chancellor and starosta of Zakroczym and Kovel', of half of the village of Kolodezno (now Kolodiazhne) and the entire village of Dovhonos (Volodymyr district), in the starostwo of Kovel'. (See below, no. 34.)

20. 21.V.1610, near Smolensk fol. 19-19v

Royal grant *(danyna)* for life to Krzysztof Kanigowski of the village of Osovets in the starostwo of Kovel' (now Osivtsi?, in Kamin'-Kashyrs'kyi raion of Volhynia oblast).

21. —.VII. 1610, Smolensk fols. 19v-20

Royal grant *(danyna)* of the office of master of the hunt *(lovchyi)* of Bratslav to Krasnoselski.

22. 4.VI. 1610, near Smolensk fol. 20-20v

Royal grant *(danyna)* of the office of sword bearer *(mechnyk)* of Volhynia to Jan Bądzyński (Budynskyi/Budzyns'kyi *[sic])*.

23. 10.IX.1610, near Smolensk fols. 20v-21

Royal grant *(danyna)* for life to Jan Potocki from Potok in the palatinate of Bratslav, starosta of Kam"ianets'-Podil's'kyi, the villages of Sokol'je (Sokollia), Horodyshche, Hlynianets', Vronevychi (Voronovy), Pryluka, and Illintsi in the starostwo of Bratslav, and the villages of Voniachyn, Lypynia, Mykulyntsi, Stryzhynka (Stryzhavka), and Deshkivtsi in the starostwo of Vinnytsia. (See below, no. 32.)

24. 4.XI.1610, near Smolensk fols. 21-21v

Sigismund III grants the soldier Wojciech Kobylski the right (*pozvolen'ie)* to purchase from Semen Kurnevych the village of Hnidava in the starostwo of Luts'k, as reward for his service at the battle of Klushino.

25. 6.XI.1610, near Smolensk fols. 21v-22

Royal writ of reconfirmation *(konservatsiia)* retaining Hryhorii and Martyn Kuz'mych Horodys'kyi as priests in the parish of Horodyshche, in the district of Volodymyr (now Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi), near Kovel'.

26. 3.XII. 1610, near Smolensk fols. 22-22v

Royal letter granting the petition of the priest of the Church of the Resurrection and

protohiereus (*protopop*) of Kremenets', Fedor Turs'kyi, to turn over the Church of the Holy Redeemer and the Church of the Epiphany of Christ to his son.

27. 4.I.1611, near Smolensk fols. 22v-23v

Royal letter granting to Jan Tryleński, *stol'nyk* of Belz, the taxes from Luts'k district for ten years, as reward for military service.

28. 27.I.1611, near Smolensk fols. 23v-24

Royal reappointment (*pryvernen'ie*) of Mikhał Ratomski (Ratoms'kyi) as starosta of Ostroh after his return from captivity.

29. 11.II.1611, near Smolensk fols. 24-24v

Royal permission (*pozvolen'ie*) granted to Andrei Vel'hors'kyi (Velyhors'kyi) to transfer for life the villages of Bohdiankovychi and Krakhaiv (now Krekhaiv), in the Oster starostvo of the palatinate of Kiev, to the clerk (*pysar*) of the Kievan land court, Vasyl' Voronevych (Voronych).

30. 20.IV.1611, near Smolensk fols. 24v-25

Royal grant *(danyna)* to Aleksander (Adam) Prusinowski, vice-chamberlain *(podkomorii*) of Volodymyr, the intestate estate (*kaduk*) of the village of Vyshkivtsi, in the palatinate of Volhynia in the district of Luts'k.

31. 4.V.1611, near Smolensk fols. 25-26

Confirmation (*konfirmatsiia*) of the transfer of a certain parcel of land within the Kiev Monastery of the Caves to Ivan Kapusta.

32. 22.V.1611, near Smolensk fols. 26-27

Testimony *(atestatsiia)* of Szczesny Kryski, Crown vice-chancellor, written into the books of the chancery from 20 May, that the grant *(danina)* given to Jan Potocki of certain landholdings in the palatinate of Bratslav belonging to the estate of the Zbaraski princes was improper. (See above, no. 23.)
(Mostly in Polish)

33. 4.X.1611, Warsaw fols. 27-28

Royal grant *{danyna)* for life to Florian Oleszko (Oleshko), *voiskyi* of Volodymyr, and his wife Agnieszka, nee Radziejewicz, of the unoccupied town of Kozary, beyond the Dnieper and Desna Rivers in the Kiev palatinate, in reward for his successful embassy to the Crimea (to Khan Kazi-Giray), which ensured peace with the Tatars.

34. 5.X.1611, Warsaw fol. 28-28v

Royal grant *(danyna)* to Szczesny Kryski, Crown vice-chancellor and starosta of Zakroczym, half of the village of Kolodezno (now Kolodiazhne), in the Kovel' starostvo. (See above, no. 19.)

35. 20.X.1611, Warsaw fols. 28v-29

Royal grant *(danyna)* of the village of Tanysh in the palatinate of Bratslav, to Adam Tyrawski, vice-judge (*podsudok*) of Halych, and his wife, Jadwiga, nee Ruzynska (Ruzhyns'ka), with the instruction to organize municipal institutions, fairs, and trade.

36. 14.X.1611, Warsaw fols. 29v-30

Royal letter granting the intestate (*kaduk*) homestead of Ihnat Tuliatyts'kyi, in the palatinate of Kiev, to the soldier Zygmunt Łochyński, in reward for military service.

37. 25.XI.1611, Warsaw fols. 30-33

Royal confirmation (*potverzhen He)* of the rights and privileges of the town of Kovel' under Magdeburg law, granted by King Sigismund II Augustus (1550).

38. 25.XI.1611, Warsaw fols. 33-35

Royal confirmation (*potverzhen 'ie)* of the privileges granted by King Sigismund II Augustus (1556) to the guilds of butchers and of other artisans in the town of Kovel'. Also provides regulations limiting habitation of Jews to a specific area of the town.

39. 25.XI.1611, Warsaw **fols. 35-37v**

Royal confirmation (*potverzhen'ie*) of the rights and privileges of the town of Vyzhva (now Nova Vyzhva in Staravyzhivka raion of Volhynia oblast) under Magdeburg law granted earlier by King Sigismund II Augustus (1548).

40. 21.XII.1611, Warsaw fols. 37v-39

Sigismund III confirms the testament of Prince Krzysztof Korybutowicz Zbaraski (Kryshtof Korybutovych Zbarazhs'kyi), starosta of Kremenets', deeding his possessions to his brother, Prince Jerzy Zbaraski (Zbarazhs'kyi), starosta of Pinsk and Sokal'. The testament concerns all his lands in the palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav.

41. 29.XII. 1611, Warsaw fols. 39-51 v

Decree *(dekret)* of the Sejm Crown Court adjudicating possession of the villages of Holovyntsi, Osnyky, Voronovtsi (Voronivtsi), and Volytsia, in the palatinate of Volhynia, between the Ielovyts'kyi (Ialovyts'kyi) family and Krzysztof Korybutowicz, Prince Zbaraski, starosta of Kremenets'.

42. 3.III.1612, Warsaw fols. 51v-52

Royal grant *(danyna)* of all the lands of Mikotaj Domunt, after his death, to Janusz, Prince Ostrogski, castellan of Cracow and starosta of Volodymyr, Cherkasy, Bila Tserkva, Kaniv, and Pereiaslav.

43. 31.III. 1612, Warsaw fols. 52v-53

Royal grant of permission (*pozvolen'ie*) to Michał Korybutowicz, Prince Wisniowiecki, starosta of Ovruch, to settle unoccupied villages and towns and to form new ones in unoccupied lands of Ovruch starostwo.

44. 6.IV.1612, Warsaw fol. **53-53v**

Royal permission (*pozvolen'ie*) to Janusz, Prince Ostrogski, castellan of Cracow and starosta of Volodymyr, Cherkasy, Bila Tserkva, Kaniv, and Pereiaslav, to pass on his grant (*danyna*) of Mikołaj Domunt's lands to Aleksander Ostrogski, Prince Zasławski (Zaslavskyi), castellan of Volhynia.

45. 6.IV.1612, Warsaw fols. 53v-55

Royal charter (*fundatsiia*) of privileges under Magdeburg law for the town of Konstantyniv (in the original Ruthenian, *Kon'stantynov* and *Kon'stantinov*; now Ukr. Starokostiantyniv; Pol. Konstantynow Stary), within the domains of Janusz, Prince Ostrogski, castellan of Cracow and starosta of Volodymyr, Cherkasy, Bila Tserkva, Kaniv, and Pereiaslav. Includes the right of burghers to hold fairs and to engage in trade and liquor sales.

46. 12.V.1612, Warsaw fols. 55-57

A royal letter verifying a receipt (*kwit*) given by Jan Bawor Pilitowski to Prince Janusz of Zbarazh Porycki, starosta of Kleshchiv, for one thousand Polish zlotys, which had been owed to a third party.

47. 20.VIII.1612, Vilnius fols. 57-58v

Decree of the Sejm Crown Court adjudicating the possession of the town and village of Ialmynka (now Ievmynka) in the Kiev palatinate between Wacław Wielhorski and Michal Ratomski, starosta of Oster.

48. 24.VIII.1612, Vilnius fols. 58v-59

Blank royal letter granting the parish and Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Redeemer in the town of Ovruch (with blank spaces for the recipient's name).

49. 20.VII.1612, Vilnius fol. 59-59v

Royal appointment and confirmation (*potverzhen'ie*) of Fedor Khodyka as mayor *(voit)* of Kiev, from the list of four candidates chosen by the citizens of Kiev.

50. 27.VIII.1612, Vilnius fols. 59v-60

Extension of a moratorium (*limitatsyia*) of decisions on general and fiscal matters regarding the public good of the Commonwealth in the Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav palatinates for four weeks in light of the expedition of the royal army to Moscow. (An initial moratorium had been issued when the king left Warsaw for Vilnius.)

51. 15.IX. 1612, Orsha fol. 60-60v

Royal consent (*potak*) conferring to Ipatii Potii, [Uniate] Metropolitan of Kiev, and to the Cathedral chapter of Saint Sophia in Kiev the Saint Michael the Archangel Golden-Domed Monastery and its lands.

52. 15.IX.1612, Orsha fols. 60v-61

Royal permit (*pozvolen'ie*) granted to Semen Kurnevych to transfer the village of Hnidava, in the environs of Luts'k, to Havryil Hois'kyi, flag-bearer *(khorunzhyi)* of Kiev.

53. 3.XII.1612, in camp near Fedorovka fol. 61-61v

Royal grant *(danyna)* of the office of clerk *(pysar)* of the Kremenets' land court to Samuel Ledochowski.

Fig. 1

Initial folio of Kornik MS 323:
Royal grant of the office of treasurer of Kiev
to Vasyl' Khodyka Krynyts'kyi (document no. 1)

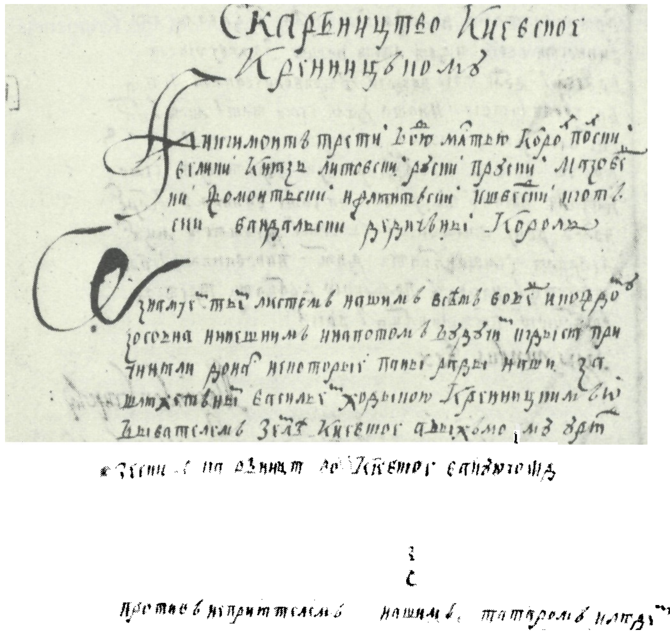




Fig. 2

Confirmation of Fedor Khodyka as mayor of Kiev
(document no. 49, folios 59-59v)

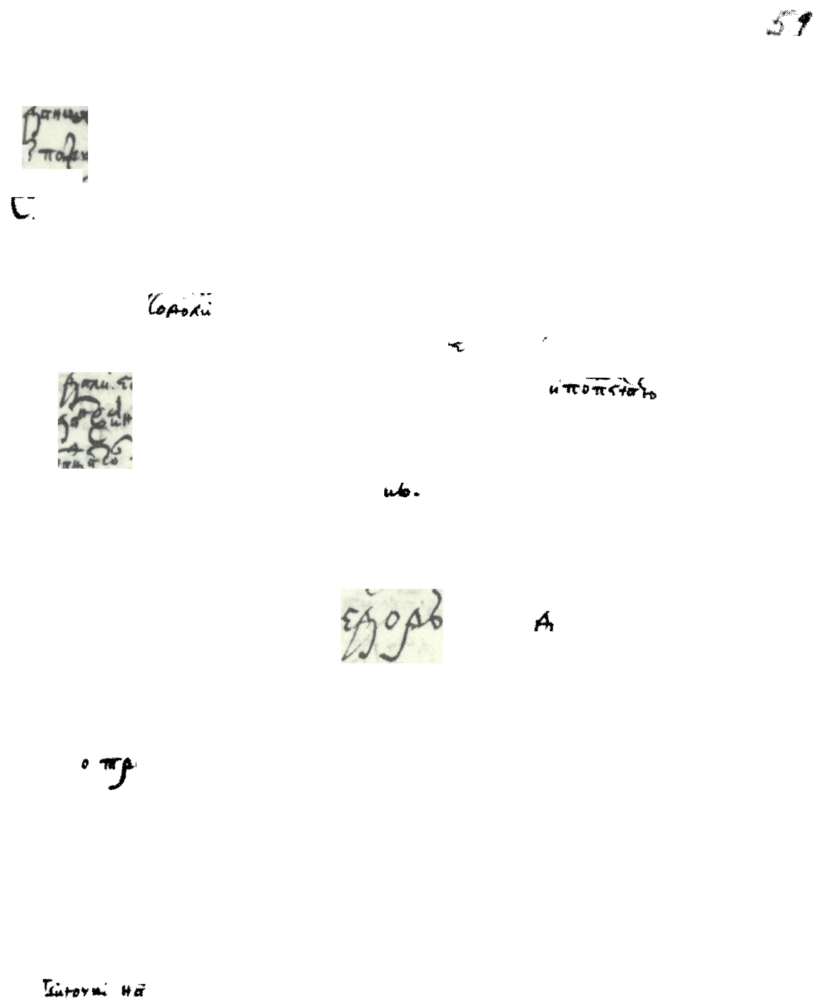
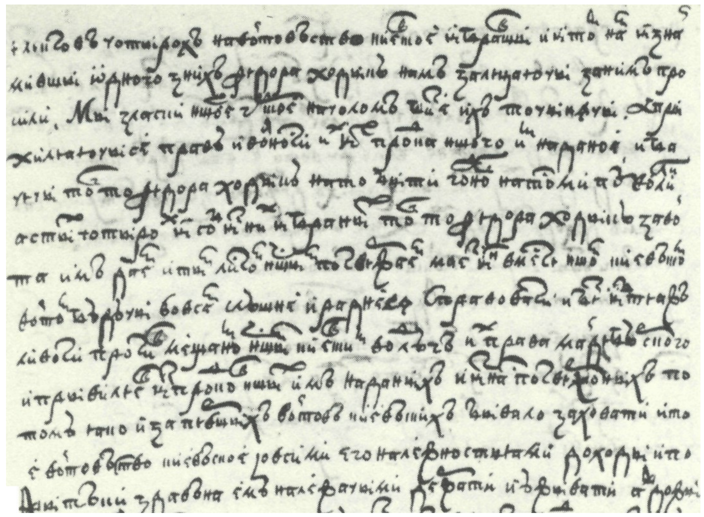
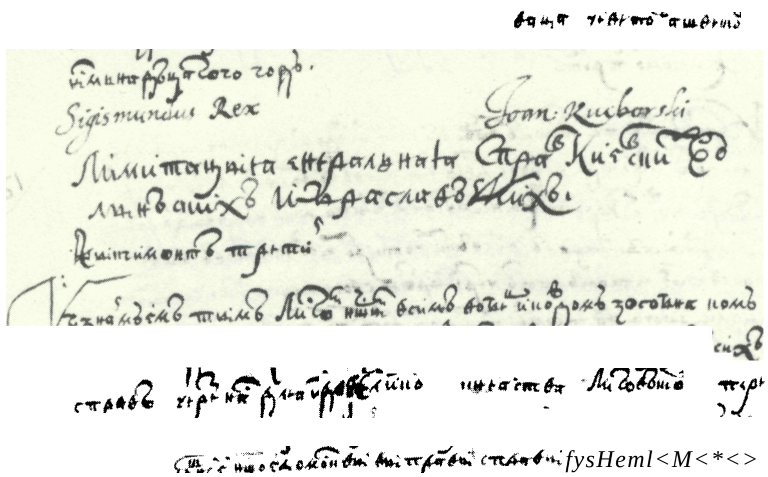


Fig. 3

Continuation of document no. 49





Sigismundus Rex

Joan. Kucborski

Fig. 4

Royal consent conferring the Saint Michael the Archangel Golden-Domed Monastery to Ipatii Potii, Metropolitan of Kiev (document no. 51, folios 60-60v)

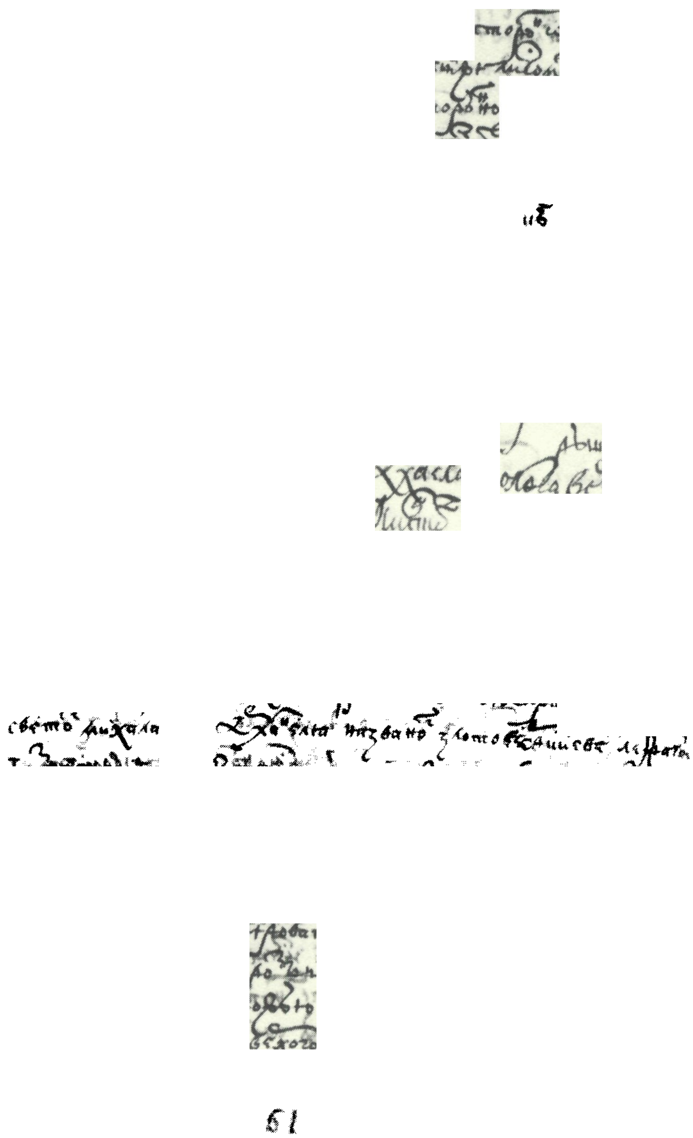


Fig. 5

Continuation of document no. 51

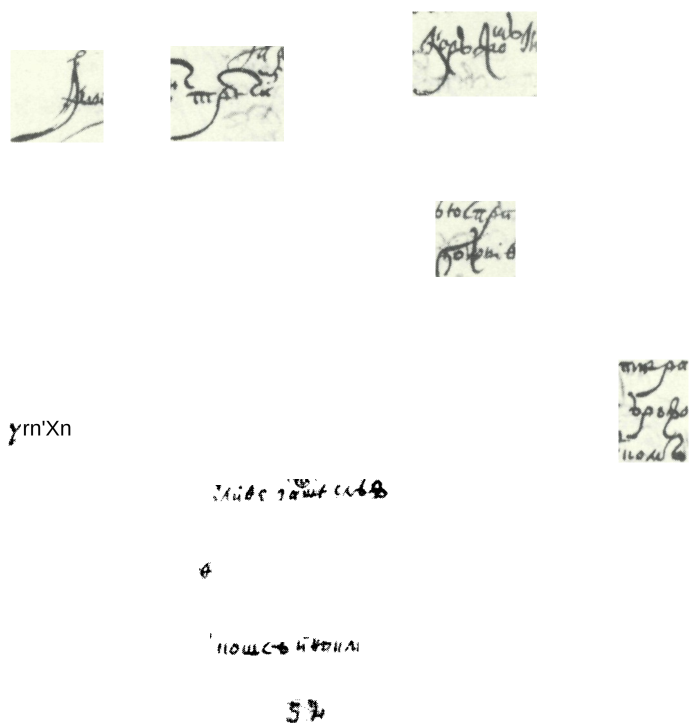


Fig. 6

Front cover of Kornik MS 323

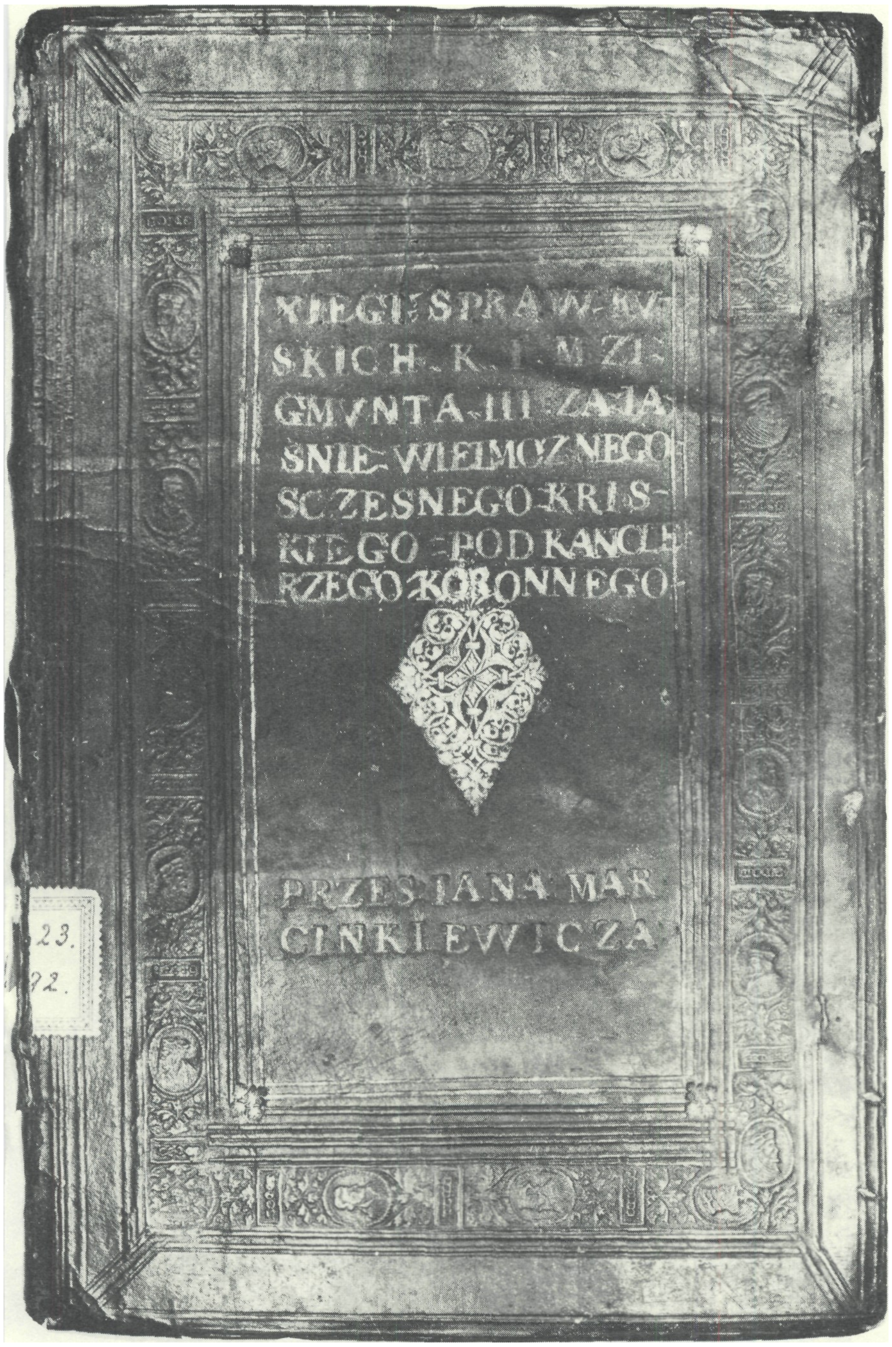


Fig. 7

Back cover of Kórnik MS 323



***Fig.** 8*

Front cover of TsGADA, fond 389, no. 204
(MK 320, earlier signature ''14-O'')



Fig, 9

Back cover of TsGADA, fond 389, no. 204
(MK 320, earlier signature "14-O")



REVIEW ARTICLES

Rudnytsky's *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* in the Eyes of a Polish Historian

STEFAN KIENIEWICZ

ESSAYS IN MODERN UKRAINIAN HISTORY. By *Ivan L. Rudnytsky*. Edited by *Peter L. Rudnytsky*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1987. xxv, 497 pp. 2 maps and index. $30.00. Canadian edition published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

If this review were addressed to Polish readers, it would have to begin with a brief biography of the author, who died prematurely. But the readers of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* need no such introduction. Nonetheless, they may be interested in what this historian from Warsaw thinks about Professor Rudnytsky's posthumously published volume, a considerable part of which is devoted to Ukrainian-Polish relations.

The volume comprises twenty essays and statements from the years 1952-1982 and three previously unpublished texts. The first few essays go back to the seventeenth century, and the last six deal with our own century. The majority, however, range between the end of the eighteenth century and the outbreak of the First World War. The author was very well read in the multilingual secondary literature on the period,[1] including Polish sources and studies old and new. He did not live long enough to make use of a few valuable recent publications.[2]

[1] Unfortunately, the index does not include authors cited exclusively in notes, which complicates checking his source base.

[2] Jerzy Skowronek's *Polityka bałkańska Hotelu Lambert* (Warsaw, 1974) was published in a small number of copies and probably did not reach the United States; it contains important material on Czajkowski's activity. Rudnytsky would certainly have been interested in the essay by J. Chlebowczyk, *On Small and Young Nations in Europe: Nation-forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe* (Wroclaw, 1980). A comprehensive monograph by W. Najdus, *Polska Partia Socjalno-Demokratyczna Galicji i Slqska, 1890-1919* (Warsaw, 1983), also deals at length with the Ukrainian socialist movement. After Rudnytsky died, the following books appeared: D. Beauvois, *Le noble, le serf et le revisor: La noblesse polonaise entre le tsarisme et les masses ukrainiennes 1831–1863* (Paris, 1985), and J. Iwicki, *A History of the Congregation of the Resurrection* (Rome, 1986) (including details about the life of Reverend Terlec'kyj [Terlecki]).

The essays, written on various occasions separated by long intervals of time, contain many repetitions which the editors apparently decided not to eliminate. The essays are linked by the leitmotif of meditations on the dramatic fate of the Ukraine, a nation that gradually matured to complete self-awareness amidst unusual adversities. Twice in its modern history the Ukraine was close to battling its way to a lasting independent state: in the Cossack period in the seventeenth century, and in 1917-1919 in the aftermath of the fall of Russian tsardom. Twice it lost the battle and came under the authority of Russia. In analyzing the circumstances of both defeats, the author draws attention to the centuries-long Ukrainian-Polish antagonism which was equally fatal to both nations. The two partitions of the Ukraine between Russia and Poland (1667, 1921) later turned out to be disastrous not only for Ukrainians, but also for Poles. In the author's opinion, "the party mainly responsible for the past failures in Polish-Ukrainian relations is the Poles. . . . The stronger side, consequently, bears the larger part of responsibility" (p. 50).

Not being a specialist in the history of the seventeenth century or the twentieth century, I cannot competently verify the author's argument. On the plane of moral judgments, I am willing to accept his severe verdict, and I can add that an understanding of Polish guilt in relation to the Ukraine has recently grown in the Polish intellectual milieu. I would distribute the emphasis differently here and there, however, a point to which I shall return. Before doing so, I will touch upon three issues with which I am well familiar: Ukrainian-Polish relations in the period of Poland's occupation by the three partitioning powers; the biographies of public figures straddling the Polish and Ukrainian nationalities; and, finally, the problem of Drahomanov.

First of all, however, let me comment on the two essays which are rightly placed at the beginning of the volume: "Ukraine Between East and West" (1966), and "The Role of Ukraine in Modern History" (1963). They relate to the Anglo-Saxon reader, clearly and accessibly, what the Ukraine meant to Europe over the centuries. Facts known to the Polish reader familiar with history are marshalled here in an intelligent way that gives food for thought. In Rudnytsky's opinion, on the basis of the Ukraine's past its inhabitants should be considered Europeans for the same reasons as Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and Romanians are. But Ukrainians are distinguished by two elements of their history connected with the East: the role of steppe nomads, and the adoption of Christianity from Byzantium. With regard to the first point, the author offers a comparison with the famous "frontier thesis" of Turner, but he rightly notes that the situation of the "Wild Fields" (*Dyki polja*) was very different from that of the American "Wild West" (p. 4). The raids of Asiatic invaders, from Scythians to Tatars, had several consequences: first, a retardation of the Ukraine's civilization in relation to Europe; second, an exceptional role in Ukrainian history for the element that opposed the invaders, i.e., the Cossacks. I would propose that Poland's two hundred-year-long contact with the Tatars had a

similar effect, albeit on a smaller scale, on the fate of that country. Devastating Tatar sallies certainly disturbed the development of the Polish economy and culture, and the necessity for defense against the Tatars gave a particular importance to the "Eastern frontier" in the political life of the Commonwealth—not only for the regions' "kinglets," but also for the rank-and-file defenders of the borderland. Thus, the Ukrainian "Cossack legend" has its equivalent in Polish history as the myth of the "bulwark of Christendom."

Rudnytsky is rather restrained in his assessment of the influence of Byzantium on the Ukraine: "In the long run, Byzantium, for all its brilliance and sophistication, had certain striking drawbacks" (p. 7). The author explains that the Dnieper basin was within the orbit of Hellenic influence many centuries before the beginning of Rus'; and that at the time of the adoption of Christianity by Volodimer, Byzantium had a considerable superiority in civilization over Western Europe. Incidentally, for Poland the adoption of Christianity in the Latin rite entailed, among other things, a marked retardation in the development of Polish literature in comparison with that of Rus'.

In the second essay, "The Role of Ukraine in Modern History," I was struck in particular by one observation. The author states that until 1917, the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire comprised only an insignificant segment of society. The masses of people "remained politically amorphous. The members of the upper classes were mostly Russified.. . . The question arises whether under such circumstances the student is entitled to include in Ukrainian history everything that happened on Ukrainian soil" (p. 13). I would draw a further conclusion: the modern-day Ukrainian has to reconcile himself to the fact that matters important for neighboring nations occurred on his own soil. After all, the Battle of Poltava belongs to the history of Russia just as the Battle of Xotyn does to the history of Poland. And so does the history of castles and forts built in Podolia for protection against the Tatars; the history of the Lyceum in Kremjanec'; the contribution of the "Ukrainian school" to Polish Romanticism; and the activity of the Polish scholarly center in Lviv in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Polish element flowed away from the East, as did the German element, but this does not change the fact that Königsberg was the hometown of Kant.

On page 22 I was struck by what the author says about the irreconcilable Polish-Ukrainian conflicts on the Right Bank of the Dnieper: "In spite of this failure, the Polish-Ukrainian entanglement in the Right Bank had some positive aspects from the point of view of Ukraine's progress towards nationhood." The author means that the fight between the Russian authority and the Polish element taking place in the Ukraine created a more favorable situation for the Ukraine than if the region had been dominated exclusively by either Russia or Poland. Another of his points (less strongly emphasized) is that Polish national-liberation aspirations found Ukrainian imitators.

To proceed to more detailed matters, the definition of the Society of United Slavs as a "particularly Ukrainian brand of the Decembrist movement" (p. 125) seems short-sighted. The brothers Borysov originated from the Ukraine, but the co-founder of the society, Lublinski, was Polish, and there was no lack of Russians among the members. Furthermore, I do not see any ideology of Ukrainianism there. The author describes the famous Volhynian cavalry regiment of Karol Różycki (1831) as formed "from the Polish gentry of the province" (p. 176). But nine-tenths of this regiment was made up of clerks, manor "Cossacks," and peasants. The "Ruthenian" language and commands were the official ones of the regiment.[3] The "strong impact of Polish political thought" on the Cyrillo-Methodian Society was correctly noted on p. 166. It would have been worthwhile, perhaps, to note more precisely that Kostomarov's *Knyhy bytija* (The Books of Genesis) were modeled upon Mickiewicz's *Księgi pielgrzymstwa* (The Books of Pilgrimage). The contribution of Mickiewicz, particularly as a lecturer in Slavic literatures, to the popularization of Ukrainian problems in the world arena deserves emphasis.[4]

In the essay "The Ukrainians in Galicia," the attitude of Polish society is characterized, in my opinion, too simplistically. We read that Poles generally took a hostile position towards Ruthenian separatism and were ready to negate the existence of Ruthenians. A few "more flexible and realistic" elements withdrew from such positions, "although grudgingly and slowly" (p. 323). This assessment requires more explanation. There were two categories of Poles in Eastern Galicia who felt threatened by the growth of the Ukrainian movement and opposed any concessions to it: the middle landlords, and the Lviv intelligentsia. On the other hand, an understanding of the Ruthenian issue was shown by: (1) Polish aristocrats of Ruthenian origin, who assumed that they would be able to maintain their status also among Ruthenians; (2) Cracow conservatives who reasoned in terms of a general Polish raison d'etat; (3) socialists who programatically condemned ethnic feuds. Cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian socialists in Galicia, first within the Polish Social-Democratic Party and then between two ethnic parties, in general developed well. Rudnytsky's underestimation of the socialist current in Ukrainian political life seems to me to represent a shortcoming in his work; the author sees it as the left wing of the agrarian movement (pp. 96-102), whereas qualitative differences between the socialist and agrarian movements were significant.

The author very rightly emphasizes the enormous role of the Galician Uniate church in maintaining the ethnic and national distinctiveness of the Ruthenian people and in providing it with the first cadres of leaders from the intelligentsia. But the

3 A. Wroński, "Powstanie listopadowe na Wołyniu, Podolu i Ukrainie," *Przegląd Historyczny* **78** (1987): 652.

4 A small error can be corrected here: Mickiewicz died in Constantinople, not in Czajkowski's camp (p. 184).

basis of this strength is shown insufficiently. "St. George's Cathedral" was above all anti-Latin, and had been so for centuries. It is for this reason that it clung to the Viennese court from the time of the partitions of the Commonwealth, and this is the main reason why it took an anti-Polish attitude in 1848. It started to lean towards Orthodoxy after 1866, when the Polish nobility reached an agreement with Vienna. But even then it proceeded cautiously. The "St. George's Circle" should not be identified with Muscophiles (p. 329); only some Uniate canons definitely entered Russian service. It was they, among others, who had their hand in the abolition of the Union in the Xolm region (Rudnytsky does not mention this incident). The Uniate church became a politically independent factor thanks to Andrej Septyc'kyj. In the enthusiastic characterization of his person (p. 339), Rudnytsky has neglected to add a few sentences of explanation for his meteoric church career. After all, he became metropolitan at the recommendation of the conservative Polish establishment, which supported his candidacy in Vienna and in Rome (documentation on this subject is preserved). Septyc'kyj did not live up to the hopes of Polish conservatives, as is known, although he remained faithful to Rome and loyal to Vienna.

Is it true, as the author maintains, that the "Old Ruthenian" camp "had all but disappeared" before 1914 (p. 343)? This dangerous trend was still seriously reckoned with in Vienna and in Lviv. The Old Ruthenians reemerged in the first months of the war, when Lviv was occupied by Russians; then, even Petljura, one learns (pp. 392–93), sided with Russia. In December 1914 he said privately that the expected annexation of Galicia and Bukovina by Russia might turn out to be profitable for the Ukrainian cause.

Consecutive stages in the struggle of Galician Ukrainians with Poles for equal rights are lucidly and by and large objectively presented. Among important concessions that the former obtained in the so-called "New Era" after 1890, I would rank first the "Ukrainianization" of school textbooks. The fierce and prolonged haggling for a Ukrainian university in Lviv was probably most accurately presented by Bobrzyński in his memoirs. I am inclined to agree with Bobrzyński that neither Polish nor Ukrainian nationalists wanted a compromise at the time. On the matter of Diet election law, a compromise was achieved early in 1914, but since it was never put into effect, it is difficult to assess how it would have functioned in practice.

On page 413, the author severely condemns Austrian duplicity in connection with the rescript of 4 November 1916, which promised the Poles a "separation" of Galicia. But he notes with satisfaction (p. 415) the next rescript, of 9 February 1918, promising the Ukrainians a partition of the same Galicia into two provinces. Vienna also reneged on that promise, under the pressure of the Polish Caucus, only to facilitate the taking of Lviv by Ukrainian military formations *in extremis* in November 1918. The tussles of a falling monarchy do not merit such attention. On 1 November 1918, says the author, "the Poles rose in arms against the Ukrainian state" (p. 65). This is how it looks today in Ukrainian historical tradition. The

Polish tradition is different: Ukrainians invaded the Polish city of Lwow. Contrary to both heroic legends, the course of events went like this: only small detachments of volunteers were engaged in the November fighting for Lviv on both sides; the majority of Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian residents remained passive in the conflict.

The register of wrongs suffered and blood spilled is broken off in the year 1921. But later there were also the pacifications of the villages of "Eastern Polonia Minor" and a mutual slaughter in entire regions during the Second World War and the drastic resettlements thereafter. Wrongdoing increases the fears of the wronged party and deepens hatred against those wronged. Difficult indeed is the task of scholars and essayists who today are trying to lead both nations out of the fatal spiral of mutual resentment.

Essays devoted to Terlec'kyj (Terlecki), Czajkowski, and Duchiński, three Polish sons of the Ukraine who fell in love with Ukrainian history and culture, occupy a special place in the volume. These are not figures favorably assessed in Poland: Terlec'kyj is blamed for bad turns in his ecclesiastical career; Czajkowski is spurned for the adoption of Islam and a miserable end to his life; and the pseudo-scholarly theories of Duchiński are ridiculed. But among Ukrainians, it is precisely his theories excluding Muscovites from Slavdom that make Duchiński agreeable to Ukrainians. Terlec'kyj arouses interest for having tried to persuade Pius IX (1846) of the need to establish a Greek-Catholic Patriarchate. Czajkowski arouses enthusiasm for having attempted to resurrect the old Cossack traditions in the Balkans. One is intrigued by the story of the manifesto by the secret patriotic committee of the Ukraine and Bessarabia which allegedly fell into the hands of Sadik Pasha in the fall of 1853 (p. 185). The relevant documents were preserved by the son of Sadik, Adam Czajkowski; they were published in part in 1924, and another part was printed as late as 1962. The documents were known to M. Handelsman, who in his work on Adam Czartoryski (vol. 3, p. 255) characterized them as "fiction or perhaps a mere forgery." Rudnytsky also thought that perhaps Sadik Pasha had invented the whole story, but he did not dismiss the hypothesis.

The two essays on Vjaceslav Lypyns'kyj, a nobleman born into a Polish family and a landlord who adopted the Ukrainian identity and dreamed of the creation of a conservative Ukraine under a leading stratum, even if it were of Polish origin, are indirectly related to those about the trio of Polish Ukrainophiles. This topic could have been compared with an analogous political trend appearing in the same years on the other end of Poland's eastern borderlands; I refer to the "natives" (*krajowcy*) of Vilnius who vainly tried to act as mediators between the Polish, Lithuanian, and Belorussian nationalisms.[5] The climate of the twentieth century proved unpropitious for their efforts.

[5] J. Bardach has devoted a few essays to the analysis of this problem in *O dawnej i niedawnej Litwie* (Poznań, 1988).

The final issue is that of Drahomanov. Rudnytsky had a deep affection for the author of *Perednje slovo* (Foreword) of 1878, which Rudnytsky calls "the first Ukrainian political program." He also devoted much space to Drahomanov's statements on the Polish issue, in particular his study *Istoriceskaja Pol'sa i velikorusskaja demokratija* (Historical Poland and Great Russian democracy), published in *Vol'noe slovo* in Geneva in 1881. He mentions en passant that this journal was purported to be "the organ of the so-called Zemskii Soiuz" (p. 258). Drahomanov did not know that the Zemskij Sojuz (Land League) was a fiction and that *Vol'noe slovo* was financed by the so-called Holy Squad *(Svjataja družina)*, one of the competing police agencies in St. Petersburg. The reason for the support is obvious: *Vol'noe slovo* stood against terrorism.[6] Rudnytsky does not deal with this delicate issue.

Boleslaw Limanowski (1835-1935), historian and pioneer of Polish socialism, was an emigre in Geneva in the years 1878-1885, and he, too, met with Drahomanov (incidentally, he spoke with him more readily in Polish than in Russian). They polemicized many times, orally and in print. Limanowski gave a cycle of lectures on the Polish Uprising of 1863 for Russian emigres. "My lectures," he says in his memoirs, "constantly met with fierce and biased criticism on the part of Drahomanov. I frequently responded very sharply, but I tried to speak without excitement, calmly."[7] Of course, at issue were the 1772 borders that the insurrectionist National Government postulated. "As far as the 1772 borders are concerned," Limanowski stated, "I do not want and do not dare to foreclose anything. The only and final decision on this subject belongs to the nations themselves. After shaking off the yoke oppressing them, in a free and general vote, they themselves will decide whether they are to separate from one another or to remain together in a close federal system."[8] As a young man Limanowski had taken part in the 1861 patriotic demonstrations in Vilnius, for which he paid with exile, and he was associated with the ideas of those years. The next generation of Polish democrats no longer shared them. The Warsaw "populists" of the 1880s, Jan Poplawski, and Zygmunt Balicki, openly proclaimed that the future Poland should exist within ethnic boundaries, without the eastern borderlands but with Silesia and Pomerania. In this they agreed with Drahomanov. I believe that Rudnytsky's suspicions of annexationist intentions vis-a-vis Ukrainians by the Polish left wing at the turn of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are unfounded.

6 J. Kucharzewski, *Rządy Aleksandra III* (Warsaw, 1933), pp. 148-95.

7 B. Limanowski, *Pamiętniki,* vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1958), p. 252.

8 A letter to Drahomanov published in *Hromada*, 1882, no. 5. Quoted in Bardach, *O dawnej i niedawnej Litwie,* p. 304.

It is small wonder, then, that this volume sparks the strong interest of a Polish historian. It arouses his reflection, but also his objections. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, as he appears in his writings, was an extraordinary individual with a creative mind and honest character. He combined the love of his own oppressed nation with an American-bred faith in the enduring values of liberalism, democracy, and self-rule. He rejected everything that he suspected of arbitrariness, centralism, or totalitarianism, even if he observed them among his own countrymen. In this spirit he reflected upon the history of the Ukraine not only as a historian, but also as a moralist. He rendered important service to the Ukrainian cause on American soil. Reading these essays provides material for reflection also to Poles, in some ways particularly to Poles. Above all I have in mind the problem of the partial Polish responsibility for the disasters the Ukrainian nation suffered, albeit not at Polish hands.

Institute of History, Warsaw University

Critique of a Ukrainian-Russian Comparative Grammar*

DAVID J. BIRNBAUM

PORIVNJAL'NA HRAMATYKA UKRAJINS'KOJI I ROSIJS'KOJI MOV. By *M. Ja. Brycyn, M. A. Zovtobrjux,* and *A. V. Majboroda*. 2nd ed., revised and expanded. Kiev: Vysca škola, 1978. 270 pp. 60 k.

Porivnjal 'na hramatyka ukrajins 'koji i rosijs 'koji mov (hereafter *PH)* is designed to serve as part of a course for students at pedagogical institutes and university philology departments (p. 2) who are preparing to teach Ukrainian and Russian in schools in the Ukrainian SSR (pp. 8-9). The authors quite reasonably suggest that these future teachers will be better equipped to explain the facts of Ukrainian and Russian to their students if they have undertaken a comparative study of the two languages. *(PH* also contains considerable information about Belorussian, the third member of the East Slavic family. While Belorussian does not figure in all sections of the book, it plays a large enough role that *PH* could easily be expanded into a comparative study of all three East Slavic languages.)

The volume is divided into six principal sections: "Introduction" (pp. 7-26), "Lexicon and Phraseology" (pp. 26–48), "Alphabet and Orthography" (pp. 48-53), "Phonetics" (pp. 53-97), "Morphology" (pp. 97-214), and "Syntax" (pp. 214-65). There is a ninety-four item bibliography at the end of the book, which includes a dozen "methodological" entries (i.e., by Marx, Lenin, etc.). M. Ja. Brycyn is the author of the introduction, the portions of the phonetics section devoted to consonants and stress, and the portions of the morphology section devoted to adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles, and interjections. M. A. Zovtobrjux is responsible for the section on syntax, and A. V. Majboroda is responsible for the remainder of the book (the sections on alphabet and orthography, the portion of the phonetics section devoted to the vowel system, and most of the morphology section).

PH falls far short of its goals. Its shortcomings can be divided into three categories. First, there are too many errors: incorrect phonetic descriptions and derivations, inaccurate explanations of the meanings of syntactic constructions, not to mention typographical errors. Second, and more serious in that they are harder for an inexperienced reader to detect, are errors of interpretation (note the discussion

* I am grateful to Horace G. Lunt, Olga Yokoyama, Roman Koropeckyj, and Tom Garza for their comments on an earlier version of this review. They, of course, are not responsible for any errors.

of Russian ceMeii below). The third and most unsatisfactory aspect of *PH* is that the authors have not decided what a linguistic description is and what features are relevant for linguistic comparison (see my discussion of the authors' treatment of the absence of palatalization before Ukrainian -em below).

It is especially disturbing that the authors ignore a rule's linguistic significance, since students, the intended users of the book, may lack the linguistic sophistication to recognize whether the authors are discussing relevant features or simply listing differences between two languages without regard to the role of these differences in the larger linguistic systems. These mistakes make one think that even if the authors were to correct the errors of fact and the incorrect analyses in a third edition, *PH* would remain seriously flawed by its lack of linguistic focus. Not all differences between Ukrainian and Russian are equal; the authors' failure to recognize this fact diminishes the value of their work as a comparative study of the two languages.

The introduction begins with a brief description of the goals of comparative grammar, which has been defined broadly to include comparative orthography and lexicography. The descriptions are both comparative (focusing on the historical development of shared and unique feaures) and contrastive (juxtaposing the modern languages). It continues with a short sketch of the development of comparative-historical Slavic linguistics, naming major eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century linguists; this section is primarily a list of principal works by leading scholars. It would have been helpful if the authors had defined молодограматизм (p. 11); a reader who needs to be told that Leskien was a leader of this linguistic school would probably benefit from a characterization of it. Also desirable would have been to mention C. Stang's *Slavonic Accentuation* (Oslo, 1957) alongside his other work. Exciting current work in comparative Slavic accentology owes its origin to Stang's pioneering study, and the almost useless discussion of Ukrainian and Russian accentuation in *PH* (pp. 93-97) would have benefited greatly from consideration of recent work in this field.

The authors continue their introduction with a cursory survey of terms used in describing the languages under consideration (e.g., "consonants may be labial or dental [=non-labial!]," p. 19) and conclude with a fuzzy, jargon-ridden discussion of whether the East Slavic languages are individual languages or dialects of a single Russian language. Applying terms like "chauvinist imperialist positions" (‘‘шовіністичні великодержавні позиції’’) and "bourgeois nationalism" (‘‘буржуазний націоналізм’’) (p. 23), the authors avoid linguistic, cultural, and social evidence, leaving the reader with the impression that questions of language and dialect should be decided by political considerations alone. While today few would disagree with the authors' conclusion that Ukrainian and Russian are best considered independent languages, the authors could surely have made their point more forcefully by addressing it more dispassionately.

The first major section of *PH* is "Lexicon and Phraseology." This part of language is not readily amenable to comparative study; while one can list words in two languages and note the existence of shared and distinct items, the lexicon is not easily treated as a coherent system in the same way as, for example, the inventory of speech sounds or verb tenses. To overcome the relatively non-systematic nature of

the lexicon, the authors have tried to address lexical issues in a way that illuminates the general relationship of Ukrainian and Russian, for example in the table on page 31, where words in seven Slavic languages are displayed to show that the three East Slavic languages agree on most words and usually differ from Bulgarian, Serbocroatian, Czech, and Polish. This list is selective, but it does represent, albeit with some exaggeration, the general lexical similarities of the East Slavic languages. The role of Slavonicisms, borrowings from other languages, Russian-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Russian borrowing, and internationalisms is discussed, and there is a brief section on comparative phraseology. While these sections point out the varied origins of the lexicons of Ukrainian and Russian (noting, for example, that Slavonicisms figure more prominently in Russian than in Ukrainian), they are too general to characterize clearly the differences between the two languages.

The subsection of "Lexicon and Phraseology" that is most interesting to the comparative grammarian is the comparison of word formation in the two languages (pp. 40-44). This aspect of comparative lexicography, which is more systematic and pervasive than the comparison of individual words, should have been given more attention. At times it appears that the authors do not regard word formation as significantly different from lexicography: безробіття and безработица are considered to be an example of the expression of a single idea by different words comparable to бузок and сирень (p. 33). Also, безвусий – безусый should not be included in the section on prefixation (p. 41), in light of the absence of *вусий – *усый; this is an example of simultaneous prefixation-suffixation. The authors might also have mentioned here formations like безокий – безглазый, where the two languages derive synonymous adjectives from synonymous roots using the same affixes.

The brief description under "Alphabet and Orthography" is useful, but one can challenge the statement that peculiarities of the phonetic systems of each language are reflected in the alphabets (p. 50). In fact, much about alphabets is conventional, and the absence of, for example, the letter m from Belorussian (where the spelling шч is used) does not mean that this sound or sound sequence is less important here than in the other East Slavic languages.

The section on phonetics treats vowels, then consonants, and then historical processes that affected the sound systems of the East Slavic languages. The American reader should be reminded that фонема is used to mean "speech sound," rather than "phoneme." In fact, phonemes, natural classes, and distinctive features play little or no role in *PH*, and the authors often confuse phonemic and phonetic representation with spelling, with the result that the sound systems seem to resemble a haphazard collection of individual sounds that may change in various ways during the history of a language.

Two basic types of errors make the phonetics section the weakest part of *PH*. One is factual errors, such as the omission of a sound from the inventory of consonants (for example, M is omitted from the inventory of Ukrainian consonant sounds, p. 59). It is surprising to find such errors in this second, corrected edition of *PH*, particularly since they are still fairly numerous. More serious, however, are confusing or inaccurate explanations, which often give the truth but not the whole

truth (note, for example, the remarks on the hardening of labial consonants in Ukrainian as related below.) Such explanations do far greater harm than simple errors of fact because, not being simply false, they are harder to recognize.

The discussion of the vowel system begins with the vowels of pre-Rusian (''давньоруська мова'' of the ninth to the beginning of the tenth century), which are correctly given as i, ь, e, e, ę, y, u, ъ, o, a, 9, but the authors oversimplify in suggesting that the denasalization of ę and 9 in the middle of the tenth century reduced the number of vowel sounds to nine (p. 54), since ę surely gave rise to a sound phonemically different from a. The phonological treatment of the reflex of ę is closely related to that of the rise of phonemic palatalization, a historical issue the authors do not discuss.

The derivation of Proto-Slavic *u from Proto-Indoeuropean *eu (p. 56) is surely a typographical error (for Proto-Indoeuropean *ou). The authors fail to mention that the sound e is derived from e not only from *ei, *oi, but also from *e (p. 56). The sounds v and v' are called both bilabial (''білабіальні'') and labio-dental (''лабіально-дентальні'') in the same paragraph (p. 60). Other problems with the authors' articulatory terminology include the equation of "dental" (''зубний'') with "dorsal" (''дорсальний'') and "alveolar" (''альвеолярний'') with "apical" (''апікальний''), the mention of the term "cacuminal" (''какумінальний''), although no cacuminal consonants are identified, and listing palatalized dental consonants in Ukrainian as both передньоязикові (=apical?) and, in a footnote on the same page, середньоязикові (=laminal?). (All the preceding statements occur on p. 61.)

The peculiar nature of v in the East Slavic languages is never really explained: the authors declare that v-f and v'-P are paired for voicing in Russian, but Ukrainian f and Belorussian f and P are unpaired. They continue that v is a sonorant in Ukrainian and v, v' are sonorants in Belorussian, offering the non-explanation that "in the Russian language v does not belong to the sonorants. This is explained by the fact that sonorants have no corresponding paired voiceless consonants" (pp. 60-61). This is an unfortunate partial truth: the student reading *PH* has no way of determining why the sounds f and v, which occur in both Ukrainian and Russian, are considered to be paired for voicing in one language but not in the other. If v is considered a sonorant in Ukrainian but an obstruent in Russian this is due to articulatory and acoustic differences in pronunciation in certain positions that should be carefully specified.[1]

Following their general outline of the sounds of Russian and Ukrainian, the authors discuss individual historical changes (initial *je → o, pleophony, etc.). The phonetic steps leading to the emergence of pleophony need modification (tort → tort → tor't → ton>t → torot, etc., p. 64); while the second o in город differed at some

[1] In fact, Russian v exhibits features of both obstruents (e.g., it is devoiced in auslaut) and sonorants (its effect on the voicing of preceding consonants is not that of obstruents, although it does not exactly match the effect of r and l). How v-v' should be classified is a complicated question that deserves more serious consideration than it receives in *PH*.

stage from the other o (since it did not become i in the new closed syllable in Ukrainian), the use of the symbol ъ leads one to wonder why the genitive singular *gorъda did not become, following the usual treatment of jers, *gorda.

Secondary mobile vowels (e.g., земель, pp. 68-69) are explained as follows: ''Weak ъ, ь transferred their force (''сила'') to the sonorant, which became syllabic. Syllabic sonorants are not natural (''властиві'') to the East Slavic languages. . . ," which led to syllabicity being transferred to an inserted vowel. While the general principle here seems reasonable, the description is not consistent with it; how could a syllabic sonorant have developed at all if such sounds are unnatural to East Slavic? The explanation of Ukrainian іржа (p. 70) similarly depends on the development of a syllabic sonorant, but Russian ржа, which is not cited, is evidence that a sonorant in this position does not have to be syllabic. Incorporating the Russian cognate into this explanation and offering a definition of what the authors mean by "natural" would have greatly improved their discussion of syllabic sonorants.

The attribution of Ukrainian б'ю to an unstressed root (p. 71) is simply wrong. According to comparative and historical data,[2] *biju was originally barytone and the development of Ukrainian 6'w must be considered secondary.

The declaration that the merger of Rusian ы and и into Ukrainian и "was completed at various times in the [Ukrainian] language area, since otherwise the sound i from old e would also have to have merged with ы, similarly to etymological i (и)'' (pp. 73-74) is puzzling. As long as the reflex of e was distinct from the reflex of Rusian i, there would have been no confusion, and, in any case, the authors present no evidence for the order of the merger of ы and и and the development of i from e. The declaration that the "hardening of consonants before e in Ukrainian began in connection with the loss of the jers" (p. 75) also requires explanation: what is the connection the authors suggest and why should the loss of the jers have affected consonants preceding e? Similarly, the authors connect the hardening of labial consonants to the fall of the jers (p. 81), but they offer no explanation for why the disappearance of jers should have affected precisely labials. The attribution of the hard v in рівний (from *ровьный) to the hardening of labials (p. 86) is a serious confusion of two processes: while the Ukrainian sound system lacks an independent soft **v',** *other* consonants were also hardened before the adjectival suffix ***-ьn-** (e.g., свобідний) and Russian, which shows evidence of the hardening of labials only in a few desinences and which retains soft v in most positions (e.g., кровь, cf. Ukrainian КРОВ), also has hard v before ***-ьn-** (ровный, cf. свободный). Furthermore, Brycyn never explains that the Ukrainian development of m'äso → mjaso is a *split,* not merely a "hardening" of **m**. To state that labials were hardened in Ukrainian before e and и (p. 86) is also to confuse two processes: all consonants in Ukrainian are hard before these two vowels, and labial articulation is irrelevant. (One wonders how Brycyn would account for palatalized n' in літне; cf. p. 51.) Such use of inappropriate data leads one to wonder how well the authors understand the processes

[2] N. Van Wijk, "L'accentuation de l'aoriste slave," *Revue des etudes slaves* 3 (1923): 27-47.

they describe and, further, whether the next generation of Ukrainian linguists will be trained not to realize why рівний, with its hard v, is not evidence for the hardening of labials in Ukrainian.

In their discussion of syllabification in the East Slavic languages, the authors state that in early East Slavic, vowels were the syllabic sounds that were independently capable of forming syllables and that "the liquids r and l which occurred after a vowel and before a consonant (вълкъ) were also characterized by this quality" (p. 92). This formulation reflects a confusion of writing system and pronunciation; according to it, вълкъ, the example presented, would be trisyllabic: въ-л-къ. To help explain the second pleophony, one might argue that Rusian knew a pronunciation *vlkъ and spelled the syllabic liquid as ъл, but this is very different from the authors' claim that a liquid following a vowel and preceding a consonant was syllabic.

The section devoted to stress (pp. 94-97) is one of the weakest in *PH.* Words are classified not according to the accentual properties of morphemes, but according to whether stress falls on the first, last, penultimate, or other syllable. This review is not the place to describe the useful analyses of stress that can be achieved from a morphological perspective,[3] but such an approach would enable all root morphemes to be assigned to one of three accentual classes and would allow for a neat and coherent characterization of possible accentual alternations. Replacing the space devoted to long lists of random examples (pp. 96–97) with a more systematic account of stress in the two languages would have improved this part of *PH.* After all, English words are also stressed on the first, last, penultimate, or other syllable, but the stress systems of Russian and Ukrainian are generically much closer to each other than either is to English, a fact that can be illuminated far better by a description of the basically morphological nature of East Slavic stress than by the mere comparison of individual words. Furthermore, the authors never discuss disyllabic words, where the penultimate and the first syllable are the same; in some such words stress is best considered penultimate, while in others it is best considered initial.

The morphology section is subdivided into general observations, the noun (followed by noun formation, gender, declension patterns, number, case), the pronoun (with various subdivisions), the adjective (including adjective formation, short forms, long forms, degrees of comparison), the numeral (including formation and declension), the verb (including verb formation, conjugation types, present tense, future tense, past tense, imperative, conditional, infinitive, participle, gerund), the adverb, the preposition, particles, and interjections.

The authors address the different parts of speech in separate subsections, in which they discuss the grammatical categories implemented. The exposition is clear, although some examples are badly chosen: one wonders why fleHb-Hin, зима–літо are cited as pairs in the discussion of gender immediately after дід–бабка and other male-female pairs of living creatures (p. 102). Since the

[3] See, for example, N. A. Fedjanina, *Udarenie v sovremennom russkom jazyke* (Moscow, 1982).

authors do not state that polarization for gender is as natural for parts of the day or seasons as it is for kinship terms, there is no reason for them to present the former as pairs. This is another example of a partial truth: these words do have gender, but so do all nouns, and the use of this example can only lead readers to draw inaccurate generalizations. Furthermore, the authors ignore interesting points of real comparison, such as the feminine Ukrainian words людина 'person' and дитина 'child', which are quite odd from a Russian perspective (cf. Russian masculine человек and ребёнок).

Declension paradigms are discussed in traditional terms, so that Ukrainian has four substantival paradigms and Russian has three. While this is a useful approach for students who will use reference grammars organized according to these terms, it would have been desirable to mention that Ukrainian ім'я represents a fourth declension while Russian имя does not only because of the decisions of grammarians. To be sure, the Ukrainian fourth declension embraces more words than the corresponding Russian paradigm, but this is beside the point: whether ім'я represents a separate declensional paradigm is not a fact of the language, but a construct of analysis.

The morphology section is riddled with primitive mistakes, which can be divided into errors of fact and errors of interpretation. Examples of errors of fact include the following. Contrary to the statement on pages 106-107, the dative and locative a-stem desinence **-и** has not been eliminated from Russian (e.g., армии), although its distribution is not as wide as in earlier stages of the language and it can be interpreted as an arbitrary spelling of unstressed /e/. The authors omit entirely the Russian o-stem locative desinence **-и** (гении, здании; p. 115). The locative desinence -y does not occur with nouns that have end stress (see p. 115); rather, this desinence occurs only with a limited number of primarily monosyllabic and pleophonic nouns with fixed stem stress in the singular. The authors are simply incorrect in calling Russian боты a relic of the dual (p. 126); this historically *masculine* noun would have had a dual form *6oTa, and the modern plural боты cannot possible reflect a dual. Indeed, this noun was surely borrowed after the loss of the dual in East Slavic.

The discussion of the accusative plural of feminines states that all feminine nouns in Russian use the genitive plural form as the accusative plural, "regardless of whether they represent people or animals" (p. 109), but this characterizes, of course, only animate nouns; inanimate nouns in all three East Slavic languages use the nominative plural form. In the discussion of pronouns, сам and самий are treated as single lexeme (p. 137), although the uses and meanings of these two pronouns are quite different. The use of short adjectives in Russian should have been explained in more detail (pp. 146-47), since this is an important difference between Ukrainian and Russian. Contracted long adjectives[4] do not occur in contemporary standard Russian, although they are found in dialects, a few fixed expressions, and

[4] A 1784 translation of Gray's Epitaph includes an example of such a form:

Вели́ка искренность былав нем и приятство,
ОН мзду свою За ТО ОТ Не6а восприял. . .

nineteenth-century literature; this is far from clear from the discussion on page 149. Russian has no prefix перед- (contrary to p. 177), only nepe-. There is no Russian form гарячии (p. 194). *Y* is omitted from the list of Russian prepositions (p. 207), a significant oversight in light of the **в – у** alternation in Ukrainian.

The errors of interpretation in morphology are also striking. *PH* recognizes null desinences and suffixes, but the authors commit the elementary mistake of treating Russian семеи as an example of the desinence **-eft** (p. 108). A type of interpretative error that pervades *PH* is the confusion of phonological and morphological operations. For example, certain paradigms, such as the "mixed" adjective declension discussed below, are the result of general phonological rules. Since such rules have morphological implications, it is reasonable to mention their effects in a section on morphology, but the authors seem uninterested in the relationship between phonology and morphology. Thus, their statement that adjectives ending in r, **к**, x in Russian belong to a mixed hard and soft paradigm (pp. 150-51) follows the Soviet grammatical tradition and thereby complicates matters unnecessarily. Since **и** (but never **ы**) is written after these consonants everywhere in the Russian language, it is surely not necessary to treat the paradigm of, e.g., великий, as exceptional. Rather, it follows the normal hard declensional paradigm, but shows the additional results of a pervasive Russian replacement of **ы** by **и** after velars. While it is taxonomically true that a table of the endings of великии would differ from a table of the endings of, e.g., новыи, such narrow taxonomy obscures truths about language, rather than revealing them. That the distribution of "hard" and "soft" forms in such a mixed paradigm is not absolutely random is never suggested in the analysis in *PH.*

The discussion of verbal suffixes on page 176 cites the correspondence біліти – белеть as an example of how each of the East Slavic languages has certain unique suffixes. This is another example of the failure to distinguish phonological and morphological processes: while it is true that Ukrainian -i- here corresponds to Russian -e-, this fact is morphologically trivial, since these are the natural reflexes of a single morpheme (the suffix **-ě-**) in the two languages. A valuable, as opposed to trivial, example of differences in suffixation would be the different distributions of imperfectivizing suffixes in the two languages (e.g., Russian повторять but Ukrainian повторяти and повторювати).

That consonants before the Ukrainian second person singular desinence -em are hard (p. 183) is true, but this difference from Russian has a phonological explanation and is only trivially a fact of comparative morphology. The authors consistently fail to distinguish between differences like these and genuine morphological and morphophonemic differences (e.g., Ukrainian можу but Russian Mory).

Similarly, the authors observe that only Belorussian exhibits **fl-fl3'** and **т – ц'** alternations in certain verb forms (p. 185), but this, too, is underlying a phonological, rather than morphological, difference. Belorussian ведзяце is exactly cognate with Ukrainian ведете and Russian ведёте, and the occurrence of ro' and **ц'**, while they produce a different form, is not caused by the implementation of any morphological process any more than the varying vowels. The alternation is certainly worth noting, but the authors should have explained its morphological insignificance in their analysis.

The statement that in second conjugation verbs "the consonant r in Ukrainian alternates with ж while in Russian ... in the first person singular and the third person plural r is retained" (p. 184), with the example бігти–бежать, is seriously misleading. This is the only example of a г–ж alternation in a second conjugation verb in Russian; it is not an example chosen at random to illustrate a general comparative feature of the East Slavic languages, although an uninformed reader could not deduce this from *PH.*

While the authors correctly note that один does have plural forms, одні учні–одни ученики (p. 168) is not the same meaning of the numeral as in the singular examples (один дім–один дом, etc.). An appropriate example of the plural form of this numeral with the meaning "one" would be одні ножиці–одни ножницы.

In the discussion of adverbs, one wonders why the authors did not simply state that there is no prefix 3- in Russian, instead of saying that "there are no adverbial formations with the prefix 3-" (p. 202), which is the bare truth, but leaves open the possible interpretation that rules of adverbial derivation allow for the combination of this prefix with a stem in Ukrainian, but not in Russian. If the authors were to say that such a prefix does not exist in Russian, there would be no need to mention all the places where it fails to occur.

The section of *PH* devoted to syntax describes simple and complex sentences and addresses specific syntactic features (agreement, government, etc.). The syntactic classifications (pp. 220ff.) often are not specifically comparative, in that they are not appropriate for describing different syntactic features of Ukrainian and Russian and how these languages may differ from other languages. Nonetheless, it is useful to juxtapose examples of different types of sentences in the two languages. This section has mercifully few errors, although it is not altogether free of them: the authors' explanation of за flBa місяці–за два месяца as designating approximation is, of course, incorrect.

All in all, *PH* is a disappointment. It presents most of the facts of comparative Ukrainian and Russian grammar, and the large number of errors could be corrected in subsequent editions, although this view may be overly optimistic, considering that the edition reviewed here is a corrected edition. Even in such circumstances, however, the authors' unwillingness to distinguish linguistically relevant and irrelevant features in an analysis makes this book a poor choice for teaching students how related languages can be compared. An ideal comparative grammar would include analyses of linguistic features that point out the place of such features in the languages as a whole and the interrelationships among them. One would hope that future comparisons of Ukrainian and Russian will adopt a more insightful and better integrated approach.

Harvard University

REVIEWS

ISTORYCHNYI ATLAS UKRAINY. Research, texts, and maps by *Ivan Teslia (Tesla)* and *Evhen Tiut'ko. Edited by Liubomyr Vynar (Lubomyr Wynar).* Montreal, New York, Munich: Ukrains'ke istorychne tovarystvo, 1980. 190 pp. $35.00.

UKRAINE: A HISTORICAL ATLAS. Research and texts by *Paul R. Magocsi.* Maps by *Geoffrey J. Matthews.* University of Toronto Ukrainian Studies, 1. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1985. [62] pp. $29.95 (Can.), cloth; $16.95 (Can.), paper.

If the first prerequisite for a successful publication of a worthwhile historical atlas is the availability of historians, geographers, cartographers, and other technical experts, then the second is surely the availability of substantial funds to cover its publication costs. One would expect that the major institutions of learning in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, especially those located in Kiev and Lviv, where experts and state subsidies for all major scholarly projects are readily available, would have developed a fierce rivalry for the honor of publishing the first historical atlas of the Ukraine. Unfortunately, politics frequently defy logic; a historical atlas has not been published in the Ukraine. Thus, all the scholarly and financial burdens of the task fell on those who had the least resources to carry it out—on members of Ukrainian learned communities abroad, chiefly those located in the United States and Canada.

The two newly published historical atlases share a common aim: to preserve the Ukrainian heritage abroad. This is evident from the remarks of Lubomyr Wynar, who states that the Tesla–Tiut'ko atlas "is primarily oriented toward the needs of Ukrainian students outside Ukraine, particularly in Canada and in the United States" (p. 11). Magocsi, too, after commenting on the "growing interest in Ukrainian matters" throughout North America, expresses the hope that his atlas will ease the need "for university-level and advanced secondary[-school] pedagogical materials related to Ukrainian subjects" (p. [7]).

If a judgment on the question of utility—that is to say, which one of the two historical atlases will be more useful to the intended users—has to be made, then it must favor Magocsi, for his English-language atlas will undoubtedly have a wider circulation. Even though there has been a resurgence of interest among young people of Ukrainian origin about the homeland of their forefathers, most of them are insufficiently versed in the Ukrainian language to follow the scholarly commentary accompanying the maps of Tesla and Tiut'ko. This reviewer urges the authors to add English translations of these texts in the second edition of their atlas. Such an addition will also benefit another circle of users—persons of non-Ukrainian origin unfamiliar with the Ukrainian language who are nevertheless interested in Ukrainian

and East European history. Perhaps the authors are aware of this need, since their atlas does contain several English-language elements, such as a separate English title page, list of maps, editor's preface, and general remarks by Paul Yuzyk (pp. 5, 11, 15-16, 19).

Both historical atlases have strengths and weaknesses. The chronological arrangement of subject matter and the commentaries relating to the events depicted on the maps—here Magocsi's placement of texts[1] opposite the maps is preferable to that of Tesla and Tiut'ko, who place the texts following the map section—provide the user with a convenient continuity of developments in the Ukraine through time and space. Thus, these atlases offer much more than the existing ones pertaining to the history of Russia, the Soviet Union, or Eastern Europe.[2] Moreover, both atlases represent some degree of scholarly and high technical achievement; in Magocsi's, the coloring of the maps is excellent. Also, both atlases provide the user with useful bibliographies and well-prepared indexes.

With regard to weaknesses, it is unfortunate that the authors of both atlases did not strive for a better chronological balance in their maps. This is especially true about Tesla and Tiut'ko, whose maps are sometimes redundant (three maps for somewhat the same period, e.g., nos. 5-8, 9-11, 14-16). Table 1 shows clearly that too much attention is focused on the modern period. In this respect Tesla and Tiut'ko (53.5 percent) do better than Magocsi (72 percent).

TABLE 1: MAP CHRONOLOGY

Periods	No. of maps (% of total)	
	Tesla & Tiut'ko	Magocsi
to 8th cent.	7 (6.3%)	2 (8.0%)
9th- 15th cent.	13 (30.2%)	5 (20.0%)
16th-19th cent.	11(25.6%)	11(44.0%)
20th cent.	12(27.9%)	7(28.0%)
TOTALS	43(100%)	25(100%)

Their maps are also characterized by an overemphasis on political and administrative boundary changes. Here, however, Magocsi fares better (68 percent) than do Tesla and Tiut'ko (79.1 percent), as can be seen in table 2.

1 The cloth edition of the Magocsi atlas has longer explanatory texts pertaining to maps 5, 7, 9, and 11.

2 See, for example, the following atlases: E. E. Zamyslovskii, *Uchebnyi atlas po russkoi istorii* (St. Petersburg, 1887); Konstantin V. Kudriashov, *Russkii istoricheskii atlas* (Moscow, 1928); *Atlas istorii SSSR dlia srednei shkoly,* pt. 1, ed. A. P. Aver'ianova et al. (Moscow, 1967); *Obrazovanie i razvitie Soiuza SSR,* ed. T. V. Artemenko et al. (Moscow, 1972); *The Soviet Union in Maps: Its Origin and Development,* ed. Harold Fullard (London, 1961 [2nd ed., 1965]); Robert N. Taaffe and Robert C. Kingsbury, *An Atlas of Soviet Affairs* (New York, 1965); Allen F. Chew, *An Atlas of Russian History: Eleven Centuries of Changing Borders* (New Haven, 1967 [2nd ed., 1970]); Martin Gilbert, *Russian History Atlas* (London, 1972 [2nd ed., entitled *Atlas of Russian History,* 1985]); Pierre Kovalevsky, *Atlas historique et culturel de la Russie et du Monde Slave* (Paris, 1961).

TABLE 2: MAP CONTENT

Types	No. of maps (% of total) Tesla & Tiut'ko	Magocsi
Political-administrative only	12(27.9%)	12 (48.5)
Political-administrative with additional details	22(51.2%)	5 (20.0%)
Other developments	9 (20.0%)	8 (32.0%)
TOTALS	43 (100%)	25 (100%)

The results of the chronological imbalance and the emphasis on political and administrative changes are very serious: there are insufficient maps to illustrate cultural developments in the Ukraine; moreover, there are no maps devoted to its economy.

Additional problems are also evident. Maps of small areas do not provide sufficient topographic and toponymic details. This applies especially to maps 12, 24, and 25 of Tesla and Tiut'ko, and map 11 of Magocsi. In some instances neither the maps nor the texts enlighten the user about certain important developments. One looks in vain, for example, for developments in the years following the death of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and the beginning of Petro Doroshenko's hetmancy. Moreover, the atlas user ought to have been given some information about the cartography of the Ukraine,[3] and to locate other, more specific atlases,[4] reference materials,[5]

[3] A good brief account is H. Kolodii's "Cartography," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984), pp. 376-80. Unfortunately, it contains a number of errors and imprecise statements. For example, Hondius died in 1652, not in 1660; Beauplan's map, "Delineatio specialis," was published in Gdansk, not in Amsterdam; in three editions from 1650 to 1651 (and possibly to 1652), not from 1650 to 1653; and the eight sheets of the map were not published, in their original size, in the atlases of Blaeu and Sanson (p. 367). Also, reference should have been made to such works as V. Kordt, *Materialy po istorii russkoi kartografii*, *2* pts. (Kiev, 1899-1910); idem, *Materialy do istorii kartohrafii Ukrainy*, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1931); Pavlo Tutkovs'kyi, *Materialy do bibliohrafii mapoznavstva Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1924); Karol Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century*, trans. Andrzej Potocki (Wroclaw, 1966 [2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1982]); and Leo Bagrow, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1880*, ed. Henry W. Castner (Wolfe Island, Ontario, 1975).

[4] One would expect to find such atlases as the following: Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Atlas Historyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: Epoka przełomu z wieku XVI-go na XVII*, pt. 2: *Ziemie ruskie Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw and Vienna, 1899–1904); *Atlas sil's'koho hospodarstva URSR* (Kiev, 1958); S. A. Sapozhnikova, *Agroklimatycheskii atlas Ukrainskoi SSR* **(Kiev,** 1964); *Atlas razvitiia khoziaistva i kul'tury SSSR,* ed. A. N. Voznesenskii et al. (Moscow, 1967); *The USSR and Eastern Europe* [Oxford Regional Economic Atlas] (Oxford, 1963); and George Kish, *Economic Atlas of the Soviet Union,* 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, 1971).

[5] I have in mind certain reference works such as *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR*, 26 vols. (Kiev, 1969-73); *Geograficheskо-statisticheskii slovar Rossiiskoi imperil,* ed. P. Semenov et al., 5 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1863–65); and *Slownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowianskich*, ed. Filip Sulimerski et al., 15 vols. (Warsaw, 1880-1902 [rpt., Warsaw, 1975-77]).

and periodicals[6] that trace changes in the Ukraine.

The Tesla and Tiut'ko atlas has an additional serious problem: the small format of the maps. Of its 43 maps, 23 represent an area situated roughly between 40° to 60° N latitude and 15° to 56° E longitude, drawn to a scale of 1 cm = 150 km, and measuring 15 x 17 cm. This very format has caused the authors to follow a course with two extremes: either crowding the data, or omitting them. Moreover, since their atlas will be picked up by many who are unfamiliar with the metric system, each map should have contained a bar scale in miles, as well as a representative fraction. Magocsi has managed to avoid most of these pitfalls by using a larger map format (19.5 x 27 cm) and by employing a variety of scales (the representative fractions vary from 1:5,130,000 to 1:9,660,000 for 18 out of 25 maps). By rendering placenames according to the language of the country in which they are located, he has adopted a sensible approach to the thorny problem of their spelling, although one notes certain inconsistencies. Why, for example, does he use Breslau and Cherven, instead of Wroclaw and Czerwień (map 6), or Turov and Polotsk, instead of Turau and Polatsk (map 7)?

One attractive feature of the Magocsi atlas is the inclusion on historical maps of the present-day political frontiers of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as, in some instances, of Ukrainian ethnolinguistic boundaries. This feature provides a continuous perspective on the present for the atlas user. Unfortunately, the atlas suffers from the omission of grid lines on 24 maps. The author has also failed to inform his audience that there exists an important supplementary reference: the English edition of the *Atlas historyczny Polski?* Finally, he has erred by referring to Guillaume Le Vasseur, sieur de Beauplan as a "geographer" (p. [7]).

Some remarks are in order about Beauplan and his eye-catching colored map of the Ukraine that adorns the front cover of the paper edition and the jacket of the cloth edition of the Magocsi atlas, especially because over the years much erroneous information about Beauplan and his maps has been published. Magocsi states that the reproduced map is "a detail from. . . Beauplan's 'General Map of Ukraine,' engraved in 1648 and copied in 1666 by Jansson of Amsterdam." This information is imprecise.

Beauplan's south-oriented general map, entitled "Delineatio Generalis Camporum Desertorum vulgo Ukraina. Cum adjacentibus Provinciis," was initially engraved and printed by Willem Hondius at Gdansk in 1648.[8] This map was copied by Jan Jansson of Amsterdam and included in the first volumes—all of which are dated 1658—of his "New" and "Major" atlases in several languages. The Jansson copy, however, contains three major alterations: the title is changed to "Typus Generalis Ukrainae sive Palatinatuum Podoliae, Kioviensis et Braczlaviensis terras nova

[6] Such as, for example, *Ukrains'kyi istoryko-heohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, no. 1 (Kiev, 1971).
[7] *The Historical Atlas of Poland,* ed. Irena Gieysztorowa et al. (Warsaw and Wroclaw, 1981 [2nd ed., 1986]).
[8] On the editions and variants of this map, see A. B. Pernal and D. F. Essar, "The 1673 Variant of Beauplan's General Map of Ukraine," *Cartographica* 20 (1983): 92–98. We recently discovered its 1686 variant.

delineatione exhibens"; the map is oriented to the north; and the lengthy Latin and French commentaries of Hondius are omitted.[9] The same map was included in the first volume of an atlas published by Jansson's heirs in 1666.[10]

The second variant of the Jansson copy first appeared in volume 1 of *The English Atlas* (Oxford, 1680). This variant differs from the first one by having the following characteristics: grid lines representing the parallels of latitude and the meridians of longitude, with a different numbering of the latter; commentaries pertaining to the Cossack battles in 1649 and 1651; a numeral XII in the upper left corner; and the following inscription along the bottom center of the map: "Ex Officina Janssonio Waesbergiana, et Mosis Pitt.""

The third variant of the Jansson copy—it is this map which is partially reproduced by Magocsi—differs from the one above by the following peculiarities: it does not contain the numeral XII; the southern boundaries are marked in heavy broken lines; and the bottom center of the map has the following inscription: "Penes Gerardum Valk et Petrum Schenk." The named individuals prepared the variant for their atlases, which appeared in Amsterdam at the close of the seventeenth century. Copies of it can be found in other atlases published in the eighteenth century.[12]

The problem relating to Beauplan's years of birth and death also requires attention. The first convincing—so it appeared—information about this matter was provided in 1923 by Il'ko Borshchak, who claimed to have located at a Rouen municipal archive a testament of Beauplan's son, who revealed in it that his father was born in 1600 and died on 6 December 1673.[13] Even though Borshchak was not a conscientious researcher,[14] the scholars of his time were content to accept his discovery without verifying its veracity. The studies of Karol Buczek eventually had the effect of providing the final stamp of approval for Borshchak's dates.[15]

9 See, for example, map 27 in vol. 1 of *Nieuwen Atlas, Ofte Werelt-beschrijvinge, Vertoonende De voornaemste Rijcken, ende Landen des gheheelen* (Amsterdam, 1658).

10 See map 6 in vol. 1 of *Joannis Janssoni Atlas Contractus, Sive Atlantis Majoris Compendium: In quo Totum Universum Velut In Theatro,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1666). This map was reproduced by Andrew Gregorovich in *Forum,* no. 26 (1974), pp. 16-17.

11 Color reproductions of this map appear in *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia,* vol. 17 (1965), after p. 80; and in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine,* vol. 1, after p. **190.**

12 A copy of this map is included (no. 8) in vol. 2 of R. Ottens's *Atlas Maior* (Amsterdam, [1724]).

13 Il'ko Borshchak, "Giiom Levasser de Boplan 1672-6.XIM923 [sic]. (Z nahody 250 rokiv ioho smerty)," *Litopys polityky, pys'menstva mystetstva* 1,no. 1 (1923):8-9.

14 See Zbigniew Wojcik, "Czy Kozacy Zaporoscy byli na służbie Mazarina?" *Przeglqd Historyczny* 64, no. 3 (1973): 576.

15 See Karol Buczek, "Ze studjow nad mapami Beauplana," *Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej 1* (1933): 29; idem, "Beauplan Wilhelm Le Vasseur de (+1673)," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 1 (1935): 384-85; idem, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny* (Wroclaw, 1963), p. 51; and idem, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century,* trans. Andrzej Potocki (Wroclaw, 1966 [2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1982]), p. 65.

In 1935, the same year that Buczek's biographical sketch of Beauplan was published in the ***Polski Słownik Biograficzny,*** Borshchak, without any explanation, reversed his stand: Beauplan, he stated, had died between 18 October and 18 November 1685.[16] Twenty years later, again without any justification, by providing the dates "c. 1600-1673," Borshchak retreated to his 1923 findings.[17] Finally, in his latest statement on the matter, he repeated the original claim: "b ca 1600 in Normandy, d 6 December 1673."[18] However, a recent discovery of Beauplan's letter addressed to Colbert, dated at Rouen on 1 January 1675,[19] by D. F. Essar and myself, undermines the claims of Borshchak and forces the reexamination of the entire matter.[20]

Looking at the newly published atlases as a whole, one must credit the authors with their achievements. Ivan Tesla and Evhen Tiut'ko have succeeded in publishing a much-needed, first Ukrainian-language historical atlas of the Ukraine; and Paul R. Magocsi, the first such atlas in English.

Andrew B. Pernal
Brandon University

LEBEDI MATERYNSTVA. POEZIJA, PROZA. By *Vasyl' Symonenko.* Kiev: Molod', 1981. 336 pp. 1.40 rub.

Vasyl' Symonenko was not fundamentally an innovator. A critic studying the Ukrainian renascence of the 1960s will encounter a number of poets whose strictly literary achievements are clearly greater than his. Ivan Drac, Vasyl' Holoborod'ko, and Ihor Kalynec' are just a few of those who tower above Symonenko. However, he was an important figure of the period: his significance must simply be measured by other criteria. Symonenko was one of the first poets who, during the post-Stalinist thaw, broke ranks with the stifling official literary line, broaching themes previously considered taboo. His unpublished poetry was widely read and very popular. The Soviet censorship his works were subjected to is representative of the fate suffered by many artists.

About three months before his death (13 December 1963), Vasyl' Symonenko confided in his diary that his friends had fallen silent and that official publications were reaching new heights of impudence in censoring his poetry and prose. He wrote of lackeys acting on pure whim and accused several periodicals of "castrat-

16 Elie Borshchak, *L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale* [a reprint of his articles published in the *Monde Slave* in 1933-35] (Paris, 1935), p. 155.
17 Il'ko **Borshak, *Entsyklopediia*** *ukrainoznavstva,* **vol. 1** (1955), p. 157.
18 E. Borshak, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine,* vol. 1 (1984), p. 189.
19 Archives Nationales (Paris), Marine 3JJ95, carton 14, no. 28.
20 For initial comments, see our forthcoming source article, "Le Vasseur de Beauplan on Ports in Normandy and Brittany: An Unknown Letter to Jean Baptiste Colbert."

ing," "cruelly mocking," and "knifing to death" his work. Symonenko concluded the September 3 entry on an ironic note, saying that, in the name of progress, everyone at the time was experiencing the squeeze of censorship.

By the end of 1964, underground channels had brought Symonenko's diary and censored poetry to the West. Publication of the diary in the January 1965 issue of *Sučasnist'* elicited angry and self-righteous responses in the Ukraine, but no denial of its authenticity. In short, there has been no open discussion in the Ukraine of Symonenko's accusations against his censors. The only hint that his oeuvre had been tampered with appeared in a review of the posthumous Soviet collection *Zemne tjazinnja* (1964), where Zanna Bilycenko criticized the book's organization and chided the compilers for breaking apart the cycle "Ukrajina" and thus obfuscating the identity of the poem's addressee.[1]

Ivan Koševivec', editor of the emigre edition of Symonenko's works, *Bereh čekan'* (1965), recognized the role censorship played in the author's short life. He grouped together those poems that had not appeared in Soviet Ukrainian editions or, as *samvydav* texts attested, had been doctored by Soviet editor-censors. *Bereh čekan'* also contained a representative sample of Symonenko's verse from the only collection that appeared during the poet's lifetime, *Tyša i hrim* (1962), as well as from *Zemne tjazinnja.*

The third Soviet edition of Symonenko's poetry, *Poeziji* (1966), was an indirect reply to *Bereh čekan'*. In it the editors of the Komsomol publishing house Molod' offered a selection of his better works. The edition contained a warm and unpretentious introduction by the poet Borys Olijnyk, who gave a very balanced assessment of Symonenko's talent. Despite Olijnyk's epigraph for the edition—*Non multa, sed multum*—*Poeziji* included samples of Symonenko's politically "correct" albeit much weaker works. Still, *Poeziji* made a fresh and important contribution. It contained a hitherto unpublished cycle of twenty poems titled ''Lysty z dorohy." Lyrical and introspective, it is in effect a final inventory of the philosophical conflicts and the civic and poetic credos of Symonenko. The cycle is an emotional farewell to the elusive muse of poetry and the author's *patria*; its intensely self-critical tone and sincerity (Symonenko's forte and, occasionally, his weakness) make it one of his best extended texts.

Publishing this cycle was an acknowledgement that the poems "Ja," ''Samotnist'," and "Je tysjaci dorih, mil'jon vuz'kyx stežynok'' belong to the canon of Symonenko's works. Previously the three poems were known either via underground channels or through *Bereh cekan',* although the third had been published in a Soviet periodical *Zmina* (August 1964), where the poem's third, autobiographically revealing strophe had been cut. Interestingly enough, the editors of *Poeziji,* though impotent to restore the missing strophe, indicated by a dotted line that part of the original text was missing. They used the same technique to indicate that ''Zadyvljajus' u tvoji zinyci. . .," which had appeared two years earlier in the collection *Zemne tjazinnja,* had been cut and remained censored in two places. What is more, in the

1 See her review ''Na semy vitrax" in *Zovten'* (Lviv), 1965, no. 2, pp. 138-40.

poem's last verse, the editors changed the adjective *cervone* to *svjascenne,* thus accepting the ending recorded by underground sources and published by Koselivec': "Ja prolljusja krapel'koju krovi/Na tvoje svjascenne znameno.''

The publication of "Lysty z dorohy" was extremely important. Not only did the volume introduce seventeen poems previously unknown and legitimize three of twelve "forbidden" texts, but also it gave readers a glimpse into Symonenko's last period. Read within the cycle, the three rehabilitated poems have greater meaning and, in turn, are crucial to an understanding of the whole.[2]

Lebedi materynstva, the publication under review, differs much from its Soviet predecessors. As the introduction by Oles' Honcar, dean of Soviet Ukrainian letters, correctly states, this is the fullest collection of Symonenko's works yet published. It contains fifty-four poems not included in earlier collections and two publicistic articles known only from periodical literature, "Nasa ridna vitcyzna" and "Dekoraciji i žyvi dereva." The latter article had first appeared in *Literaturna Ukrajina* for 20 August 1963, where, judging by Symonenko's diary, it had been heavily censored. In addition, *Lebedi materynstva* republishes two children's tales that had first appeared in *Poeziji* and thirteen short prose pieces previously collected in *Vyno z trojand* (Lviv: Kamenjar, 1965).

Lebedi materynstva, the third collection of Symonenko's works to be issued by Molod',[3] contains a number of surprises. First, it too includes three poems previously known only from underground collections and from *Bereh cekan :* "Bubnjavijut' dumky, prorostajut' slovamy. . ." (p. 99), "Sud" (p. 229), and "Balada pro zajsloho colovika" (p. 256).[4] The second surprise is the restoration of the three strophes to ''Zadyvljajus' u tvoji zinyci.. ." (p. 87) whose omission the editors of *Poeziji* had indicated with a dotted line. Still missing, however, is the poem's third strophe, the absence of which had been emphatically underscored in *Poeziji* with a double dotted line. The reason it was and remains censored is best appreciated by juxtaposing its blasphemous political stance ("Xaj movčat' Ameryky i Rosiji, / Koly ja z toboju hovorju") with that of the juvenile and eminently orthodox "Zavzdy my, Rosije, z toboju" (p. 25), a poem published here for the first time. Despite the partial restoration of "Zadyvljajus' u tvoji zinyci. . .," its ending here does not follow the versions published in either *Bereh čekan'* or *Poeziji.* Instead, it reflects the doctrinally proper ending published in the censored variant of *Zemne tjazinnja.*

2 Koselivec', recognizing the value of "Lysty z dorohy," published the cycle in the 1973 edition of *Bereh čekan'*. He removed "Ja" and ''Samotnist' " from the section of "forbidden poetry," but kept the third poem, "Je tysjaci dorih.. .," among the six works which, as *samvydav* attested, had been altered by censorship.

3 Symonenko made his debut with *Tysa i hrim*, which was issued by the prestigious Derzavne vydavnyctvo xudožn'oji literatury.

4 In Koselivec''s collection the first of these poems appears under a different title, ''Ukrajins'kyj lev," and contains one additional strophe in which the narrative voice addresses the city of Lviv. The texts of the latter two poems are, with one minor exception, identical with those published by Koselivec'.

Aside from the four poems discussed above, the editors of *Lebedi materynstva* fail to rehabilitate any other texts Koselivec' grouped under "forbidden" or "doctored" poetry. They do, however, reinstate the dedications to Lina Kostenko and Andrij Malysko that were omitted from previous Soviet collections. Curiously enough, the present collection, which purports to be the fullest, also excludes the irreverent and antireligious poem "Bozestvennyj psyk" and four brief satirical pieces from the cycle "Zajacyj drib," all of which had appeared at least once in previous collections.[5]

Another surprising and disturbing aspect of *Lebedi materynstva* is its organization. Symonenko's poems are arranged according to three themes: the civic (Zemle, ljubove moja); the lyrical (Polum'ja zori); the satiric and philosophical (Hostryj pluh). Consequently, the cycles that were discernible to a greater ("Lysty z dorohy") or lesser ("Ukrajina") degree in previous Soviet collections are here completely obscured. In turn, the internal conflicts experienced by the poet, conflicts which were openly revealed in "Lysty z dorohy" ("Moji corty berut' mene za rohy,/i scob meni ne zbytysja z dorohy,/To treba dosluxatysja obox/" from the poem "I znovu sam vojuju proty sebe. . ,"), become less evident here. By the same token, one gets the impression that the texts rehabilitated, whether in whole or in part, would cast a different light if they were placed in the right context. In other words, although these poems are not lacking in edge or intensity, they beg to be read in different company.

The least surprising element of *Lebedi materynstva* is the omission of such poems as "Zlodij," ''Kurds'komu bratovi," and "Xor starijsyn z poemy 'Fikcija.' " Their presence here, even if camouflaged by the tri-partite organization, would still have manifested a different Symonenko than the ideologically pure, if somewhat troubled, figure depicted by the edition.

It is quite probable that the profile of the poet delineated in the first posthumous collections, *Zemne tjazinnja* and *Poeziji*, was also the result of editorial taste and manipulation rather than a product of Symonenko's own design. In such a case, this, the fuller edition, should have offered some explanations concerning its revised order and the omission of material previously published in the Ukrainian SSR. *Lebedi materynstva,* however, offers no explanation. Moreover it is silent about the sources of both the fifty-four new texts and those republished. Thus, it remains for the researcher to cull all Soviet periodicals of the 1960s and the 1970s in order to establish when and where these poems had been previously published, if at all. Another important task for the student of the Ukrainian renascence of the sixties is to establish the chronology of Symonenko's works. Critics may argue (as the organization of *Lebedi materynstva* implicitly does) that, because he died so young and his poetic career was so brief, it is useless to define Symonenko's cycles and stages

5 ''Božesvennyj psyk" first appeared in *Zemne tjazinnja:* It did not appear in *Poeziji* nor in *Bereh čekan'*. Missing from "Zajacyj drib" are: ''A v holovi sco?," "Pryvablyva reklama,'' ''Dohadavsja,'' and "Pizno podumala" (see *Zemne tjazinnja,* pp. 107-110; *Poeziji,* pp. 148, 150).

of development. Yet, careful reading of his diary *Okrajci dumok*, begun a year before the poet's death and never published in the USSR, demonstrates that at least where "Lysty z dorohy" is concerned, one can speak of stages in Symonenko's growth and of cycles which function as integral wholes. The suspicion is supported by Zanna Bilycenko's indictment of the organization of *Zemne tjažinnja*. Failure on the part of the editors at Molod' to address issues such as these suggests that the purpose of this edition is to convince the present generation of readers in the Ukraine that Symonenko was an artist with a Leninist worldview ("mytec' lenins'koho svitohljadu" in Honcar's words). But judging by the poor quality of most of the new inclusions, *Lebedi materynstva*'s real function, especially in the West, might be to reveal the poet's artistic weaknesses, which, in view of his civic stature, have rarely been discussed.

A collection of Symonenko's works with the title *Lebedi materynstva* was announced in the offical *Novi knyhy Ukrajiny* (no. 1) for the year 1972.[6] It appears, then, that the collection under review was among those books which, although officially accepted for publication, fell victim to the repressions that began with Petro Selest's ouster from the CC CPU. Many of these books have yet to appear. Judging by the belated publication of *Lebedi materynstva,* it could be said that, like many Ukrainian writers, poets, and human rights activists, Vasyl' Symonenko has served a ten-year penal sentence. Even though it is incomplete and flawed by a lack of documentation and a self-serving editorial reshuffling, the collection *Lebedi materynstva* is welcome as a symbol of the poet's rehabilitation.

Natalia Pylypiuk
Harvard University

ROZVYTOK UKRAJINS'KOJI MALOJI PROZY XIX–POC. XX ST. By *Ivan O. Denysjuk.* Kiev: Vysca škola, 1981. 215 pp. 1 rub., 20 k.

Denysjuk describes his work as a study in the historical development of genres. Indeed, its title suggests that the historical development of a particular genre is the subject of his book. But the genre mentioned in the title is not a genre at all, but rather a variety of genres. As a result, the specific genres themselves are never described or categorized. If the title were changed to *The Development of the Opovidannja* and the *Novela,* the author could hardly have avoided providing the terms with definitions. As it is, Denysjuk circumvents the pitfalls of defining the notoriously undefinable short prose forms by using an all-inclusive term for them. When

6 For a discussion of the publications that were planned in the Ukraine for the years 1972 and 1973 but never appeared, see Ivan Hvat' "Ukrajina v 70-x rokax: Pro odyn z naslidkiv pohromu inteligenciji ta padinnja Selesta," in *Novyj šljax*, 1 May 1982, p. 6.

he does speak of particular genres, as he inevitably must, Denysjuk implies that their dimensions are completely unstable. For example, the first chapter begins: "The *novelistyka* of every nation springs from folklore." This rather dubious claim can be manipulated by substituting at random from a list of correct equivalents for the inclusive generic label *novelistyka.* The most literal rendering, *nouvelle*, will raise objections from students of Edgar Allen Poe, Maupassant, or Ivan Franko. If we understand the term to mean short prose, or prose in general, then a host of literary specialists will join in the objections. Of course, the objections subside if we translate the term as "story telling," but this reduces Denysjuk's claim to the simple truism that literature begins as folklore.

The problem is aggravated by Denysjuk's scheme of genre classification. On the highest level he places three genres, namely: **(1)** the ***opovidannja,*** (2) the *novela*, and (3) the *frahment* (p. 7), which can roughly be translated as (a) tale, (b) nouvelle or short story, or (c) sketch, fragment, or short short story. Although he avoids specific definitions of these genres, Denysjuk does suggest some distinguishing features by comparing them to other genres. For example, he compares Kvitka-Osnov''janenko's "Mertvec'kyj Velykden' " to the folk tale "Jak Necypir dilyv varenyky," recorded in Hrincenko's collection of ethnographic material. The comparison reveals how "literaturized *(oliteratureni)* folk motifs are transformed into a tale (*opovidannja*) that carries, in addition to the plot interest that is inherent in folklore, certain additional information, consisting of various details from the habits and customs of Ukrainian peasants and certain social and literary problems" (p. 14).

He describes the novela while analyzing Ivan Franko's *Boryslavs'ki opovidannja :* "The economic problem of the destruction of agriculture that falls into the path of Boryslav's 'industrial fever' [i.e., the unrestrained development of oil fields in the Boryslav region—M.T.] and the attendant problem of the moral degradation of the farmers denote a type of expansive tale which approaches the nouvelle ("Navernenyj hrisnyk"). Focusing attention on a microstudy of one situation and one character gives birth to the nouvelle ("Jac' Zelepuha," "Polujka"). .. . Real-life material itself held the potential for the genre of the nouvelle—the anxious and tense growth of the desire for wealth and the sudden loss of illusions that is necessary for the nouvellistic catharsis. Thus, real-life relations are naturally reflected in the plot tension and the effective turning point (*Wendepunkt*) of the nouvelle" (p. 66).

Clearly, Denysjuk conceives of genres in relative terms. His general topic, "short prose," already presupposes a relation to another genre, long prose. He approaches a definition of *opovidannja* only through a comparison with the folk tale, whereas the nouvelle is compared to an *opovidannja.* This particular strategy, along with the avoidance of dogmatic and untenable definitions, must be seen as virtues of the monograph. As Mary Louise Pratt pointed out in her "The Short Story: The Long and Short of It" (*Poetics* 10 [1981]: 175-94), the short story as a genre is viewed most effectively from such a relativizing perspective. Yet, as her article makes equally clear, this relativity is usually between the short story and the novel or some other long prose genre.

While it is eminently reasonable that short prose be compared to long prose, in the case of the Ukrainian *opovidannja* of the early nineteenth century, such a comparison would be inappropriate. Relatively little Ukrainian long prose was produced in this period, and the short prose of the period was not and should not be perceived in any particular opposition to it. This is true, however, only within the boundaries of Ukrainian literature. Early nineteenth-century prose, both long and short, in other languages, particularly Russian, French, and German, does offer a potentially fruitful model to which the Ukrainian *opovidannja* of the period can be compared.

Historically, the Ukrainian *opovidannja* of the 1830s must be compared to those genres that were considered to be related to it in the 1830s. Thus, Denysjuk is not mistaken in comparing the *opovidannja* to folk literature. Given the peculiarities of Ukrainian literature in the first half of the nineteenth century, the influence of folk literature and popular culture in general on all genres during that period cannot be ignored. However, as Denysjuk's own discussion makes very clear, the folk tale was certainly not an exclusive model for Ukrainian prose writers at the time. The first Ukrainian *opovidannja,* Kvitka-Osnov''janenko's "Saldac'kyj partret," is a retelling of stories from classical antiquity, specifically incidents from the lives of the Greek painters Zeuxis and Apelles as described in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (bk. 35). Whether or not Kvitka used Pliny as a source, the fact remains that "Saldac'kyj partret" is not a literaturized folk motif. Like Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* and much of early modern Ukrainian literature, Kvitka's tale is a folklorized or popularized literary motif. The difference between this formulation and Denysjuk's is a consequence of Soviet literary dogma.

According to Soviet dialectics, early Ukrainian literature must have neither of two qualities: (1) it must not be an outgrowth of the cultural intelligentsia, but rather of the collective mass of the populace; and (2) it must be not a symptom of cultural separatism based on Western models, but rather a development both parallel to and dependent on the dominant Russian culture. These theoretical constraints are resolved in practice by focusing, as Denysjuk does, on the primacy of folklore.

Denysjuk's discussion of the nouvelle suffers from the same weakness that afflicts his discussion of the *opovidannja.* The development of the short story in American and European literatures was remarkably similar. Among important factors were new developments in technique and subject, specifically narrative and psychological precision, on the one hand, and sex, violence, and the exploited working classes, on the other. Some of these elements are acceptable to Soviet dogma, whereas others are not. Narrative pyrotechnics, sex, and violence are symptoms of bourgeois decadence and naturalism. In the Soviet view of Ukrainian literature, these vices must play a minor role. Realist literature, characterized by shallow psychological analysis and concern with class conflicts and the oppression of the working man, must be dominant. The critic must also avoid focusing on foreign influence, particularly from French and English literature. Within this framework of restraints, Denysjuk could hardly be expected to provide a reasonable description of

the genre. Given these major failings, what makes Denysjuk's monograph worthy of attention?

Rozvytok ukrajins'koji maloji prozy represents an important trend in Soviet Ukrainian literary studies. A number of publications have moved away from the simplistic subjects of the past to attempt synthetic approaches to previously neglected subjects. Genre, particularly prose and even more particularly short prose, is one such subject. In addition to the volume under review, publications on the topic include: Rostyslav S. Miscuk, *Ukrajins'ka opovidna proza 50–60 rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1978); Ljubov A. Hajevs'ka, *Moral'no-etyčna problematyka ukrajins'koji novely kincja XIX–počatku XX st.* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1981); and M. K. Najenko, *Zovtnevi kryla novelistyky: Pytannja rozvytku ukrajins'koji radjans'koji novelistyky v period stanovlennja literatury socialistyčnoho realizmu, 1917-1932* (Kiev: Vysca škola, 1980).

Denysjuk's monograph also has intrinsic virtues. It is the first study to cover the development of Ukrainian short prose from the beginning of modern Ukrainian literature to the Revolution. For all of its methodological problems, the study presents a wealth of information and a tolerably good picture of the development of the genre. Of course, important writers who are considered ideological enemies, such as Pantelejmon Kuliš or Volodymyr Vynnycenko, are dutifully chastised, but they are not ignored. For example, the brief characterization of Modernism and Vynnycenko (p. 186) does not begin to do justice to one of the most important prose writers in Ukrainian literature, but it does show a familiarity with the relevant works, and the schematic analysis is not far off target.

In general, Denysjuk bows to dogma on the larger or more visible issues while pursuing his own analysis of the details. Even on questions of dogma, he is sometimes remarkably honest. The analysis of Franko's story, "Na roboti," for example, gives an accurate description of Franko's technique and comes dangerously close to identifying it as naturalistic (p. 63), a conclusion that would be officially intolerable. Denysjuk, of course, does not call Franko a naturalist, but the attentive reader soon learns to ignore Denysjuk's generalizations while accepting the details. This trust is both reinforced and rewarded by Denysjuk's analysis of a number of technical matters, most particularly narrative technique. Although the discussion is at times confusing and poorly organized (segments of it are scattered over the second half of the volume), the mere recognition of narrative technique as an important factor shaping Ukrainian prose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is worthy of note. Here, as in other technical matters, Denysjuk's willingness to examine details and to propose schematic analyses is a welcome relief from their usual avoidance in Soviet Ukrainian literary studies.

The virtues of Denysjuk's monograph by and large balance its faults. The reader would do well to focus on the wealth of information, including the descriptions of many little-known authors and works, and the details of technical analyses while ignoring general formulations and dogmatic conclusions. Although the monograph is rather poorly organized and the author's prose is occasionally labored, the study is basically worthy of the reader's effort. The appended bibliography can serve as a

handy reference aid. Denysjuk's monograph does not resolve many issues, but the questions it raises and the unexplored territory it ventures into make it a valuable contribution to the study of Ukrainian prose.

Maxim Tarnawsky
University of Toronto

SINOPSIS, KIEV 1681. By *Hans Rothe.* Cologne and Vienna: Bohlau Verlag, 1983. 409 pp. DM 98.

Hans Rothe's study of the *Sinopsis* is a welcome addition to the literature on seventeenth-century East Slavic history writing. He offers a lucid account of the reasons for the composition of the *Sinopsis* and provides a convincing resolution of the much-debated question of its authorship. Rothe's book consists of a lengthy introduction and a facsimile of the 1680 edition. The introduction includes: a study of the literature composed in Kiev's Caves Monastery in the seventeenth century; a short overview of history writing in seventeenth-century Ukraine; an account of the career of Innokentii Gizel', abbot of the Caves Monastery (1656–1683), in which Rothe makes a good case for Gizel' 's authorship; and a careful discussion of the *Sinopsis's* manuscript tradition and printed editions, of its sources and how these are used, and of its basic themes.

Rothe's basic approach is to consider the *Sinopsis* within the context from which it emerged—an approach which is regrettably rare in the study of early East Slavic cultural history. In so doing Rothe clears up many misconceptions and oversimplifications about the *Sinopsis.* He convincingly argues that the *Sinopsis* was not intended as propaganda for the Muscovite-Ukrainian union, nor as a "textbook" on early Rus' history, nor as a *Volksbuch.* Rather, the *Sinopsis* was a product of the Caves Monastery written to fulfill a specific political agenda.

The chief concern of the Caves Monastery in the second half of the seventeenth century was to protect its autonomy vis-a-vis the Kiev Metropohtanate and the Moscow Patriarchate. A major part of Gizel' 's political activity consisted of negotiating with the Muscovite authorities over this issue of autonomy. Rothe is at his best in demonstrating how this agenda is woven into the text of the *Sinopsis.* Both in his choice and emendation of sources Gizel' attempted to emphasize the historically stauropegial status of the Caves Monastery—that the monastery was subordinate only to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The second part of the agenda was to enlist the Muscovite tsar as the monastery's protector. Rothe shows how in the *Sinopsis* Gizel' emphasizes Moscow's leadership among all the Slavic peoples and the tsar's "rightful" claims to the Kievan inheritance. This focus on Moscow and on the traditional relationship of monastery and tsar is also achieved by the technique of "doubling" or "prefiguring." Gizel' develops a series of parallels—the Caves Monastery/the Trinity Monastery, Andrei Bogolubskii/Aleksei Mikhailovich, Kulikovo/Chyhyryn, Kiev/Moscow—which reinforce the notion of a unique histor-

ical link between monastery and tsar. This close textual analysis within the context of the late seventeenth-century political reality is the most effective section of the book. Rothe has a sensitivity to the fine line that Gizel' had to tread: to assert the autonomy of the monastery while acknowledging the authority of the tsar.

Rothe's attempt to place the *Sinopsis* within a historiographical context is not as successful, however. He claims that the *Sinopsis* is an example of East Slavic "humanist" history writing: the *Sinopsis* exhibits the influence of Renaissance ideas, but in the incomplete form so characteristic of East Slavic borrowing from Western Europe. He states that the *Sinopsis* is part of the development of "scientific history writing" (p. 32) and of "modern historiographical method" (p. 36) in the East Slavic world. The argument is two-fold. The first element consists of a claim of "humanism by association": Gizel' used Polish historians who are commonly considered to be humanist—Stryjkowski, Guagnini, Bielski. Secondly, Gizel' borrowed some of the "humanist" techniques found in these Polish histories: the interest in origins tales; the widening of the source base; the naming of sources both within the text and in the margin; the juxtaposition of conflicting accounts; the stress upon the link with antiquity. But Gizel' 's humanism was a bastard humanism: the *Sinopsis* shows a grasp of humanist meaning but not of its style; a lack of understanding of the Renaissance concept of tyranny; a less critical and more crude historical narrative than that of the humanist Stryjkowski; a failure to incorporate juristic arguments. To Rothe's mind, this incompleteness can be attributed to the lack of a "scholarly tradition" in the Ukraine.

In the study of seventeenth-century East Slavic history writing, considerations of "humanism" and "modern historiographical methods" are red herrings. Do origins tales, source references, and crude comparison of contradictory accounts make for modern historical method? Did modern historical method develop gradually and incrementally over time, thereby allowing us to see the *Sinopsis* as a hesitant step on the road towards modernity? Certainly the *Sinopsis*, precisely because of the characteristics noted by Rothe, is different from traditional chronicle writing. Yet all of these characteristics (along with the technique of prefiguration) are to be found in medieval European history writing. A case can be made that these "innovations" were introduced because they would appeal to, and reflected concerns shared by, the *Sinopsis's* intended audience—the tsar's court. To demonstrate that European historians widely held the Muscovites to be the ''Ur-people'' of the Slavs and claimed that Alexander and Augustus held them in high esteem (and to advertise this appeal to European authorities by the use of margin notes) would play well in Moscow. By using Rothe's own method of considering text within context, I would argue that the *Sinopsis's* very *medieval* interest in authority, tradition, and glory is evidence of the development of a new court culture in late seventeenth-century Muscovy.

These objections on my part in no way detract from the worth of Rothe's book. In many respects, it is an example of the close textual analysis needed before we can begin the reconstruction of seventeenth-century East Slavic historical culture.

David H. Das
University of Washington

THE REVIVAL OF BYZANTINE MYSTICISM AMONG SLAVS AND ROMANIANS IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY. TEXTS RELATING TO THE LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF PAISY VELICHKOVSKY (1722-1794). By *A.-E, N. Tachiaos*. Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστημιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Επετηρίδα Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς. Παράρτημα ἀριθ. 43,28. Salonica, 1986. lv, 296 pp.

More than twenty years after the publication of the author's previous works on this important eighteenth-century Orthodox churchman from the Hetmanate, or "Little Russia" (O Παΐσιος Βελιτσκόφσκυ [1722-1794] και η ἀσκητικοφιλοσοφικὴ σχολή *xov* [1964, reprinted 1984] and Σύμμεικτα περὶ τῆς σχολῆς *xov* Παϊσίου Βελιτσκοφσκυ [1965]), his new book offers first editions of texts whose neglect until now demonstrates the infancy of scholarly work on Paisius: the "Autobiography," the *Life* of Paisius by his disciple, the monk Mitrofan, both written in Slavonic, and Paisius's correspondence with the theologian Dorotheos Voulismas, in Greek. Also included is a reprint of the reworking of Mitrofan's *Life* by the monk Platon, published by the Neamts Monastery in 1836.

In the introduction the author convincingly explains the reasons why the "Autobiography," though used later by Mitrofan and others as a source for their biographical works, was itself never published and has come down to us in only one manuscript (13.3.26 Akademiia nauk SSSR, late 18th-early 19th century). Written shortly before Paisius's death in 1794, with the intention of leaving his Moldavo-Slavonic brotherhood an account of its origins—that is, its founder's monastic career—the "Autobiography" is too personal a document to admit of being read before the assembled brethren, say, in the refectory, as the later *Lives* were intended. Further, Paisius lived only long enough to bring the text from his birth in Poltava in 1722 to the year 1746, when he resolved to go to Mt. Athos; it was left for Mitrofan to give an account of the last thirty-three years of Paisius's life: of his stay on Mt. Athos and his tenure as abbot in three monasteries in the Romanian principalities, at Dragomirna (1763–1775), Secu (1775-1779), and Neamts (1779–1794).

At least four manuscripts containing Mitrofan's *Life* have come down to us, but the editor demonstrates that only one, Neamts 152 (207, early 19th century), preserves the text more or less as it was written by the aged Mitrofan ca. 1814, and was in fact read and corrected by him. For the prologue Mitrofan borrowed from a *Life* of the revered Hesychast St. Gregory of Sinai, apparently from a translation by Paisius, and for the account of Paisius's earlier life he closely followed, often *verbatim,* the "Autobiography"; the editor has therefore omitted this first part of the *Life* from the edition. But for the period after 1746 Mitrofan had to rely on other sources, and for the years 1767-1794 he gives a detailed account from first-hand knowledge. The *Life* is written in the style characteristic of the *Synaxarion*, for reading to the assembled brethren, but the tone is still quite personal, especially when Mitrofan recounts experiences he had had in Paisius's company. It remained for Platon in the version printed in 1836 to eliminate the personal connections and

render the text thoroughly monastic. He adds a number of proper names, but there is no new material in his reworking of the *Life.*

The language of all three texts is the Slavonic that Paisius and his brotherhood used in their translations of Byzantine patristic texts. The editor purposely has not corrected certain orthographical errors that betray the contemporary dialects of the authors.

The texts of Paisius and Mitrofan are a mine of information, beginning with details about Paisius's paternal great-grandfather's, grandfather's, father's and elder brother's service in the church in Poltava (though there is no evidence for determining whether the poet Ivan Velychkovs'kyj was the father or grandfather; cf. V. P. Kolosova and V. I. Krekoten', *Ivan Velychkovs'kyj: Tvory* [Kiev, 1972], p. 18). Paisius's maternal great-grandfather had been a Jewish merchant who together with all his family had converted to Christianity. His godfather was V. V. Kochubej, son of V. Z. Kochubej, one of Peter I's associates. One follows the young Paisius's education first at home and then at the Mohyla Academy in Kiev, where he conceived a dislike for the scholasticism that prevailed in the eighteenth-century Orthodox church and sought instead a more mystical theology, in particular (as time went on) in the Hesychastic monastic tradition. Paisius describes his encounter with the visiting Metropolitan Anthony of Moldavia and his early attraction to the Romanian liturgy. He left Kiev in search of a monastery to his liking and traveled to Liubech, Chernihiv, Chornobyl', back to Kiev (the Caves Monastery), then to various *sketes* in Moldavia and Wallachia, and finally to Mt. Athos. Mitrofan tells of Paisius's disappointment upon finding the Hesychastic tradition in a bad way on Mt. Athos; of the organization there of his Moldavo-Slavonic brotherhood; his searches for manuscripts of Byzantine patristic (mostly Hesychastic) texts; the brotherhood's departure from Athos and establishment in Moldavia; the Russo-Turkish Wars; Paisius's flight from the Catholics in Bukovina; his rather complicated relationship with the hospodars of Moldavia; his translations into Slavonic of the Greek texts he had found on Mt. Athos; his teachings on the Hesychastic Jesus-Prayer; and his greatness as a spiritual guide. Paisius became one of the most renowned of all Slavonic Orthodox "elders" (*startsi*); he and his disciples greatly influenced the development of the *starchestvo* which, long after its virtual extirpation from the Romanian church by the Cuza regime, survived and flourished in Russia, particularly at Optina, where a further reworking and augmentation of Mitrofan's *Life* was published in 1847 (Engl. trans. *Blessed Paisius Velichkovsky. The Life. . . Optina Version. . . by the Schema-Monk Metrophanes* [Platina, Calif., 1976]).

Another glimpse into Paisius's monastic world is provided by the correspondence with Voulismas. This consists of four letters by Paisius and two by Voulismas, all written in 1785, which are preserved in the archives of the Athonite monastery of St. Panteleimon. It is the editor's opinion that the Greek of Paisius's letters is not of his own composing; Paisius signs the letters in Romanian (the offical language of his monastery). Paisius mentions a recent visit of Voulismas to Romania, and his "skillful cultivation" of the country, though it must not have been all that skillful, since Voulismas appeals to Paisius for help in procuring the patronage of the hospodar Alexander II Mavrocordatus. Paisius feigns cowardice,

and Voulismas's subsequent visit ends in disaster, apparently involving the hospodar, whom it seems he also petitioned to relieve conditions of poverty and even hunger at Neamts. Voulismas intends to go to Russia next, and Paisius asks for copies of the ukazes of Peter I concerning the reception of the heterodox into the Orthodox church. Paisius is uncertain of the validity of the earlier reception in Moldavia of certain Uniates from Hungary by chrismation alone. Voulismas replies with a longish discourse concerning the necessity of rebaptism, insisting on the mystical significance of the three immersions that the heterodox no longer practice. This lively and engaging correspondence also contains rather curious details about the various monks with whom Paisius and Voulismas dispatched their letters, as well as about the books and even remedies they exchanged with each other.

The editor ends the work with a helpful index. The only omission we must lament is that of the English translations of the texts, which were left in their beginning stages by the late Anne Pennington.

J. Featherstone
Harvard University

POTOC'KYJ I BOBZYNS'KYJ: CISARS'KI NAMISNYKY HALYCYNY 1903–1913. By *Myxajlo Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj*. Rome: St. Clement the Pope Ukrainian Catholic University, 1987. 132 pp.

At the outset of his book, Myxajlo Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj notes that on the seventieth anniversary of the assassination of Andrzej Potocki, the viceroy of Galicia, he published an article on the topic in a Ukrainian newspaper which met with exceptionally lively reader reaction. Recently a remarkable obituary of the same Andrzej Potocki, who was murdered on 12 April 1908 in Lviv, was published in the Cracow periodical *Tygodnik Powszechny*. There the grandsons of the viceroy announced a mass in his memory, noting: "He died forgiving his assassin, a Ukrainian terrorist."[1]

Evidently this event from the past, which might seem to have been wholly overshadowed by later events, has retained some importance to both the Ukrainian and Polish nations. The new work by Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj, author of an interesting outline of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the nineteenth century,[2] attempts a new analysis of the causes, circumstances, and consequences of the "April 12 act."

1 *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Cracow), 42, no. 16 (1988): 7. The son of viceroy Potocki, Andrzej Potocki, also died at Ukrainian hands near Velyki Oci during the 1939 campaign.

2 Myxajlo Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj, *Ukrajins'ko-pol's'ki stosunky v XIX storicci* (Munich, 1969).

Although we already have several more or less successful scholarly works on this subject,[3] the manner in which Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj treats it makes his book engaging and noteworthy. The author relied chiefly on accounts by participants in the events. He luckily had at his disposal memoirs by almost all the main characters of his narration: Michal Bobrzynski, Potocki's successor as viceroy; Kost' Levyc'kyj, one of his main Ukrainian partners; Ignacy Daszyński and Leon Biliński, two Polish politicians playing considerable roles in Vienna, the former from the socialist camp, the latter a conservative; and, above all, Myroslav Sicyns'kyj, Potocki's assassin, the man who, by that one act, drastically influenced the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations and of the Habsburg monarchy.[4]

The memoirs, together with a collection of contemporary political pamphlets, skillfully selected and balanced by the main scholarly works,[5] allowed Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj to compose a narration fascinating the reader. His account is rich with quotations, a method which has yielded good results, although it would have been useful also to consider a few more memoirs. On the Polish side, the memoirs of Kazimierz Chłedowski contain characterizations of the main political leaders of Austria and Galicia;[6] also important are those by Stanisław Glebinski, a representative of the Polish National Democrats, who is mentioned in the book several times.[7] Among important Ukrainian memoirs are those by Jevhen Olesnyc'kyj, whose career was shattered by Sičyns'kyj's act (it made it difficult for him to become the deputy speaker of the Galician Diet).[8] Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj may well not have known about the interesting and important autobiography of Leon Pininski, Potocki's predecessor and the adversary of Bobrzynski who helped bring about his fall; not yet published, it is kept at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow.

Demkovyč-Dobrjans'kyj's book begins at the moment of Piniński's replacement by Potocki. The former, although a conservative, favored Polish nationalist groups—National Democrats and the so-called Podolians. Hopes for an energetic solution to the grave nationality problems with which Pininski was not able to cope were pinned on Potocki. His task was first of all to alleviate the exacerbating

[3] In addition to the work by J. Buszko used by Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj, there is the latest biography of Bobrzynski: Waldemar Lazuga, *Michal Bobrzynski. Myśl historyczna a działalność polityczna* (Warsaw, 1982). Alas, there is no thorough monograph about the period. The premature death of an outstanding specialist on this problem, Jan Kozik, cut short two studies on the first half of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, important facts concerning the First World War are contained in the study of Janusz Gruchała, "Austro-Wegry a sprawa ukraińska," *Studia Historyczne* (Cracow), 28, no. 4 (1985): 557-76.

[4] In addition to the account mentioned by A. Janta, one could also use the memoirs recorded by M. Sapoval: *Zi spomniv Myroslava Sicyns'koho zapysav M. Ju. Sapoval* (Podebrady, 1928).

[5] The study would have benefited by taking into account the useful biographical sketches of successive viceroys of Galicia, with abundant bibliography, in *Polski Siownik Biograficzny*: Jerzy Zdrada, "Pininski, Leon," vol. 26 (Wroclaw, 1981): 332-37; Jozef Buszko, "Potocki, Andrzej," vol. 27 (Wroclaw, 1982): 778-82; Jozef Buszko, "Korytowski, Witold," vol. 14 (Wroclaw, 1968): 155-57.

[6] Kazimierz Chledowski, *Pamietniki* (Warsaw, 1951).

[7] Stanisław Głębiński, *Wspomnienia polityczne* (Pelplin, 1939).

[8] Jevhen Olesnyc'kyj, *Storinky z moho žyttja* (Lviv, 1935).

conflict between the Polish and Ukrainian parts of Galician society and to deal with the growing influence of two radical political movements among the Poles—Agrarian and Socialist. Attention to all these problems heightened during discussion of the reform of electoral law, first concerning the election to the Council of the State in Vienna and then to the Galician Diet.

Potocki was undoubtedly an able politician ready to undertake innovative solutions. He risked concluding an agreement with the growing and increasingly strong Ukrainian movement in spite of its unpopularity among Poles. Thus, after a period of tactical hesitation, he abandoned his support for the Muscophiles. Although there were some inconsistencies in his behavior, he did manuever deftly between the opposing political forces: National Democrats and Podolians (pro-Muscophile) and Vienna, which, recognizing the danger in the development of pro-Russian tendencies in a border province, started to look with increasing benevolence at the Ukrainian movement. The shot fired by a Ukrainian student ended this interplay.

Emphasizing the political senselessness of the assassination, Demkovyč-Dobrjans'kyj draws attention to the interdependence between political decisions and social emotions. The author allows all sides of the conflict to present their points of view. He quotes abundantly from Ukrainian radicals who considered Sicyns'kyj a national hero, and he also gives the floor to Metropolitan Septyc'kyj, who did not hesitate to condemn the act which he deemed incompatible with Christian morality and the Christian concept of politics. A passage from an unpublished letter of the metropolitan to his brother, Stanisław Szeptycki, reflects the tension prevailing in Lviv after Potocki's assassination:

The Metropolitan writes from Lviv four days after he said his bold sermon in St. George Cathedral:

> We are going through hard times. I was warned and asked from all sides not to return to Lviv for the [Easter] holidays. I am very glad that I did not listen to that advice. It was good that I returned; immediately after my return I had an opportunity to condemn the crime and this greatly contributed to quieting stirred minds. I am sending you a clipping with [death] threats, verdicts, etc. And I am cautious: I did not do the consecration of Easter foods, I did not accept visitors during the holidays and did not reciprocate visits. The holidays have passed calmly and I think that a relative calm has settled for a time.[9]

Most Ukrainian politicians of the moderate camp behaved inconsistently. While disapproving in principle of Sičyns'kyj's act, they did not condemn it because of Ukrainian public opinion. They also saw benefits in the drastic manifestation of Ukrainian national aspirations. But it also had negative consequences for the development of national consciousness among the urban intelligentsia of Ukrainian origin. The radicalism epitomized by Sičyns'kyj's act became an impulse strengthening the processes of the polonization of that group, as is shown by the numerous accounts in the press and the memoiristic literature, so that after 1908 there occurred a wave of abandoning the Greek-Catholic rite in Lviv and larger East

9 Letter of Andrij Septyc'kyj to Stanisław Szeptycki, Lviv, 28 April 1908, Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki Archives in Warsaw, MS JKS-MA-20, p. 9.

Galician towns. That social group, which had remained until that time uncertain of its national loyalties, demonstrated in this manner its final decision to distance itself from the Ukrainian national movement.[10]

Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj also presents the reactions in Vienna, by other Slavic politicians in the Habsburg monarchy (Tomaš Masaryk), and in the international press. A broader presentation of the Polish position would have been welcome.

Potocki's successor, the well-known Polish historian Michał Bobrzynski, also a Cracow conservative, was much more consistent than his predecessor in striving for a compromise with the Ukrainian movement based on electoral reform. His concept, which called for normalizing the situation before Vienna intervened directly and thus weakened the situation of Poles in the monarchy, met with determined counteraction from the Polish nationalist camp. With support from the Latin episcopate of Galicia, Bobrzynski was dismissed. This did not stop the changes that finally occurred during the tenure of Witold Korytowski as viceroy. The outbreak of the First World War would bring to naught the compromise achieved with such difficulty.

Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj tries to examine the position of the church towards the events described. Metropolitan Septyc'kyj was certainly active on behalf of the Greek-Catholic episcopate. Among Polish churchmen the most active were the Latin-rite Metropolitan of Lviv Jozef Bilczewski and Bishop of Cracow Adam S. Sapieha, and the Armenian-rite Archbishop of Lviv Jozef Teodorowicz (the adherents of the Armenian rite in Galicia had been polonized by this time). Septyc'kyj could easily reconcile his national solidarity with his episcopal duties, but the nationalist attitudes of Teodorowicz and Bilczewski led them to abuse their dignity and manipulate the teachings of the church. A theological controversy developed among bishops. Poles accused the planned reform of inconsistency with Christian theology; later they had to disavow that point in an embarrassing silence when their own political camp, the National Democrats, finally reconciled itself to the reform.

Archbishop Teodorowicz was a driving Polish force in the episcopate. Very active politically, he had a remarkable political temperament coupled with an inability to conduct practical political interplay. His sharp and uncompromising statements, made without a sober assessment of the situation, brought unwanted consequences. His behavior in 1913-1914 deprived him of authority in Vienna. All that he achieved was to delay the victory of the program against which he fought. His later efforts, undertaken at the Vatican in the interests of the Polish raison d'etat in Upper Silesia (1920–1921), led to total catastrophe: a conflict with Pope Benedict XV and his nuncio in Poland, Achille Ratti. The latter, who soon thereafter became pope, forbade him political activity in the Polish parliament.

In Bobrzyński's judgment (as quoted by Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj), there was a link between a political solution to the Polish-Ukrainian problem and the emergence of an agreement between the two important social institutions of the two nations—

[10] Look, for example, at "Perexody na latynstvo," *Nyva* (Lviv, 1909), pp. 594-96.

their Catholic churches. In a sense this observation is borne out even today.

Demkovyč-Dobrjans'kyj brings his narration to 1 November 1918, describing events in Lviv on that day, when Polish-Ukrainian relations entered a new, extremely acute, phase of conflict.

The author makes two small mistakes. Demkovyc-Dobrjans'kyj is wrong about the Ukrainian economic emigration to Prussia. As shown by the research of Andrzej Brożek, based on former German archives accessible after the Second World War, the suspicion of Polish political spheres in Galicia that there was a secret agreement between Ukrainian Nationalists and Prussian authorities to support Ukrainian agricultural and industrial workers in Germany against Poles was justified. Both sides derived political benefits from the pact. Germany eliminated the need to employ Poles in its eastern provinces, which made the germanization of those areas easier. Ukrainians gained an important trump card in their economic struggle against large landowners in Eastern Galicia: the changed labor market deprived Poles of their employers' monopoly." The second error is minor, indeed: Jozef Buszko is not a Warsaw historian; in fact, he teaches at the Jagellonian University in Cracow.

In sum, Demkovyč-Dobrjans'kyj's work provides rich material for reflection on an important stage in Polish-Ukrainian relations, and does so in an extraordinarily balanced and objective way.

Andrzej A. Zieba
Jagellonian University, Cracow

MOSCOW AND THE VATICAN. By *Alexis Ulysses Floridi.* Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1986. 279 pp. $23.50.

In *Moscow and the Vatican,* Alexis Floridi traces the twists and turns of the Vatican's approach to the Soviet Union since 1917, focusing on its *Ostpolitik* in the 1970s. Yet his book is really an account of the reaction of Soviet dissidents to this policy. By presenting us with their critique of Vatican policies, Floridi makes an impassioned plea against the Holy See's tendency to conciliate Communist regimes. Floridi, who has ministered for many years to Russian and Ukrainian refugees, speaks as an insider profoundly disillusioned with his church's policy toward its Soviet and East European brethren. Herein lies the strength and weakness of this book. As one who is familiar with the church hierarchy and with the Soviet emigre and dissident community, he brings knowledge and passion to his subject, but this proximity hinders a more searching and clear-headed examination of Vatican policy.

11 Andrzej Brozek, "Zatrudnianie robotników ukraińskich w przemyśle górnośląskim przed pierwszą wojną światową," *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska* (Wroclaw), 10 (1970): 295-324.

The book has three main sections. The first section traces the evolution of Vatican policy toward the Soviet Union. Two strands are evident in this policy. On the one hand, Pius XI vehemently denounced religious repression by the new Soviet regime even as, on the other hand, he sought to establish better relations with it. Floridi deplores the second of these two strands, which culminated in an *Ostpolitik* under Pope Paul VI that traded the loyal collaboration of Catholics for a little more religious freedom. Though Floridi briefly delineates Vatican policies toward Eastern Europe in this section, his discussion is too sketchy and disjointed to contribute to our understanding of the role of the Catholic church in these countries. The second section of the book describes the rise of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union, examining in separate chapters the situation of the Catholic and Uniate churches in the Ukraine and Belorussia. The third section chronicles the increasing repression of the post-detente period and evaluates the less accommodating policies of the new Polish pope toward Communist regimes.

The central question Floridi poses is whether the quest for world peace, the purported aim of the Vatican's *Ostpolitik,* justifies the church's concessions to fundamentally repressive and atheistic regimes. Is it better to have a church driven underground, a catacomb church, that lacks a firm ecclesiastical structure but possesses the fervor of the early Christian communities? Or is it better to have a church in which the Vatican retains some authority to fill ecclesiastical positions albeit only with so-called peace priests who accommodate themselves to a regime ultimately bent on diminishing the church's power? By endorsing the latter vision, Floridi argues, the church has alienated its adherents and diminished its own authority. What the religious in Communist countries need is an institution that will protect their rights and give those who languish in jails and psychiatric hospitals the solace and encouragement they desperately need. Instead, under its *Ostpolitik,* the Vatican has foresaken these people who must turn for support to other dissidents, often Jews or the nonreligious. Floridi laments this "paradoxical situation" in which nonbelievers such as Sakharov, Bukovsky, and Amalrik defend their Christian compatriots while the Holy See abandons them to their fate. What good, he asks, is the Vatican's goal of strengthening peace by negotiating with the Soviet Union if it comes at the expense of today's living and suffering Christians?

Although Floridi testifies convincingly to the need to respond to the suffering of religious individuals (adding his voice to the chorus of those who do not see negotiation producing reform in the Soviet Union), his focus on dissidents hinders his analysis of Vatican policies toward the Soviet Union. Referring to the views of Soviet dissidents provides an important perspective on the impact of Vatican policies on their lives, but it often leads the reader away from the purported topic of this book, especially since many of the Soviet dissidents for whom Floridi speaks are not religious dissenters or even religious people. Moreover, in his attempt to emphasize the aid dissidents have given to the religious in the Soviet Union, he overlooks the considerable disagreement among them about their attitude toward religious dissenters and overestimates the strength of the dissident movement as a whole. Finally, as Floridi sees it the Vatican has only two choices: either to collaborate and become corrupt, or to remain faithful to the church's true mission and implacably

hostile to Communist regimes. Vatican officials argue that both defending rights of believers and protecting its administrative structure compel it to have some relations with these countries. Since the Holy See will undoubtedly continue to maintain relations with Communist countries, it is disappointing that Floridi fails to explore the question of how the Vatican might best balance these two goals in its interactions with Communist authorities.

A laborious writing style and somewhat dated analysis are additional shortcomings of Floridi's book. The book was apparently written in English, but it reads like a poor translation; thorough editing would have improved it immeasurably. The cumbersome use of lengthy quotes (sometimes exceeding an entire page) contributes little to the text. These are not always well chosen or identified: for example, Floridi quotes Sakharov, who can hardly be considered a member of the Soviet apparatus, to illustrate the view of Communist authorities (p. 59). Furthermore, though *Moscow and the Vatican* was published in 1986, much of it appears to have been written in the mid-seventies at the height of detente and *Ostpolitik*; it is a plea to Vatican officials to modify these policies, not a scholarly analysis written a decade hence. Thus the section about John Paul II, which is very important to the topic, appears to have been tacked on and is not tied to the bulk of the book. Though Floridi's work provokes the reader to consider some of the consequences of the Vatican's conciliatory policies toward the Soviet Union, it is an ultimately unsatisfying account of relations between Moscow and the Vatican.

Jill Irvine
Harvard University

SOTRUDNICESTVO USSR I RSFSR V OBLASTI OBRAZOVANIJA I NAUKI V PERIOD POSTROENIJA SOCIALIZMA. By *V. M. Danilenko.* Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1981. 189 pp.

Given the doctrine of *partijnist'* (party-mindedness) that has been obligatory for Soviet scholars, the Soviet historical monograph functions both as a work of scholarship and as a political statement. Danilenko's work on the potentially fascinating topic of how the Russians "helped" the Ukrainians in science and education up to 1937 highlights the tightrope the Scerbyts'kyj regime has for some time attempted to walk between pro-Ukrainian and anti-Ukrainian forces in Soviet politics. The author is so cautious to avoid offending anyone that virtually none of the issues that could have made the book informative are even mentioned.

The sensitive topics that the author could not avoid mentioning are, of course, the so-called nationalist deviations of the 1920s and various related manifestations of the "class struggle." The treatment given the Sums'kyj affair, the only "deviation" the author dared to mention, carefully balanced it against simultaneous deviations toward Russian chauvinism:

> In 1926-1927 the CP(b)U condemned the nationalist views of A. Sums'kyj, who had hitherto been People's Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, and the great power-chauvinistic views of Vaganjan, Larin, and Zinov'ev, who had opposed the creation of schools and teaching in the Ukrainian language. Distortions in carrying out ukrainianization were also eliminated in the republic, when attempts to forcibly ukrainize the Russian portion of the population of the Ukrainian SSR were discovered. The Central Committee of the VKP(b) demanded the strengthening of Party membership among workers in public education and the strengthening of the organs of publication with highly qualified cadres. (p. 55)

Regarding the "class struggle," the author only states that from August 1928 through May 1929, 152 cases of direct attacks upon schoolteachers were registered (undoubtedly because teachers were forced to participate in the so-called grain procurement campaigns), that the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) was discovered to be a manifestation of the bourgeois-nationalist counterrevolution (if it ever existed), and various anti-Marxist trends in scholarship like the school of M. S. Hrusevs'kyj were defeated (i.e., silenced; pp. 54-55, 172-75). The reader is given hardly any details about these examples of Russo-Ukrainian cooperation. Even when the author mentions the breakup of the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism-Leninism (UIML) and its replacement by the All-Ukrainian Association of Marxist-Leninist Institutes (VUAMLIN) in 1931 (p. 138), he states only that the Ukrainians were following the model of Russia's RANION, which is true only in a purely formal sense, since RANION was long a haven for non-Marxist scholars. He makes no mention of the fact that UIML was criticized for an entire list of "deviations," most notably those of the historian Matvij Javors'kyj. Danilenko cannot even cite N. V. Komarenko's work on the institutional framework of historical scholarship in Soviet Ukraine.[1] He also fails to mention that one of the most noteworthy forms of Russian "aid" to the Ukraine consisted in the criticism of Ukrainian "national deviations" like those of Javors'kyj, the philosopher Volodymyr Jurynets', the writer Mykola Xvyl'ovyj, not to mention the commissar of education Mykola Skrypnyk. In fact, just about the only thing we learn about Skrypnyk is that he favored the adoption of the Russian school system as early as 1927 (p. 56). Indeed he did, but he also tried to abolish any talk of centralizing the administration of education.[2] In this case, the Russians "helped" by decreeing such centralization in piecemeal fashion and ultimately engineering his fall in 1933.

What remains is a mishmash of facts taken out of context in order to portray the complete absence of friction between Russians and Ukrainians. One is told about monetary grants, the opening of new schools, Russians studying in the Ukraine, Ukrainians studying in Russia, joint excursions, and so forth. The author reveals, for example, that in 1925 a beneficent Sovnarkom granted 450,000 rubles for the elimination of illiteracy in the Ukraine (pp. 27-28). He does not mention a circumstance vital to putting such munificence in perspective: according to the literature of the period, the greater use of "subventions" allowed local governments in

[1] N. V. Komarenko, *Ustanovy istoryčnoji nauky v Ukrajins'kij RSR (1917–1937rr.)* (Kiev, 1973).

[2] *Visti VUTsVK*, 10 May 1930, p. 3.

Russia meant that Ukrainian tax monies were actually underwriting local education in Russia to a far greater extent than the small grants made by the Union to the Ukraine.[3] In fact, figures published in Soviet Ukraine at this time showed that the Ukraine's gross budgetary return on its contribution to the USSR was even lower than its return on taxes paid to the Russian Empire had been before the revolution: while in 1913 the Ukraine received 88.5 kopeks in expenditures for each ruble paid in taxes to the Russian Empire, in 1924-25 it received only 84.5 kopeks back on each ruble contributed to the USSR.[4] It was this sort of increased fiscal exploitation that in 1928 formed the basis of Myxajlo Volobujev's famous critique of Soviet economic policy.

In short, while it is all to the good that Soviet Ukrainian historians even in 1981 virtually ceased to attack the "nationalistic deviations" of half a century ago, one hopes that someday they will write a factual history about the post-revolutionary period.

James E. Mace
Washington, D.C.

MASTERPIECES IN WOOD: HOUSES OF WORSHIP IN UKRAINE. By *Titus D. Hewryk*. New York: The Ukrainian Museum, 1987. 112 pp. $20.00.

This new exhibit catalogue by Titus D. Hewryk, author of *The Lost Architecture of Kiev* (Ukrainian Museum, 1982), is, if anything, an even more valuable work than his earlier one. Apart from the detailed and knowledgeable text, with notes, bibliography, and a glossary of technical terms, the catalogue includes 198 illustrations—most of them high-quality photographs of Ukrainian wooden churches and details of same constructed over the last two centuries or more. This is an astonishing display of architecture by any standard, and a moving reminder of another world that is now largely lost.

The territorial and chronological range of Hewryk's examples and resultant typology permit us to see clearly the genuine uniqueness of Ukrainian wooden church architecture as compared with, most notably, that of Russia. Such uniqueness consists primarily in the sheer variety of structures erected along with their fantastical elaboration, both features seen especially in roof designs and the many types of shingles used. The early and extensive planing of logs, producing a more finished wall; the skillful adaptation of masonry forms (for example, the Baroque dome); and

[3] Rzevusskij, "Rol' subventsii v mestnom bjudžete Ukrainy," *Ukrainskij ekonomist*, 16 September 1926. See also Kyjanyn, "Na Ukrajini," *Nova Ukrajina*, 1926, no. 1/2, p. 122.
[4] O. Popov, "Narodne hospodarstvo Ukrajiny ta Radjans'kyj Sojuz," *Cervonyj šljax*, 1925, no. 8, p. 66.

the manifest striving for an overall symmetry of composition also distinguish the wooden church architecture of the Ukraine—particularly, again, from that of Russia. Indeed, here a larger historical point is illustrated: the degree to which the Ukraine, so much earlier than Russia, was open to Western cultural influences and was able, so much more readily, to absorb them. Ukrainian builders also had, by and large, much better wood to work with.

It was not part of Hewryk's task to make more than passing reference to the wooden architecture of other lands. Had it been so, the tendency to overstress the special qualities of Ukrainian wooden architecture and to excuse its comparative limitations might have been avoided. One example is Hewryk's suggestion (p. 13) that frame construction did not develop in the Ukraine and that the ancient method of building with logs remained the primary technique owing to a more plentiful supply of timber there than in Central and Western Europe. But such persistence speaks equally of relatively limited cultural development and of lagging population growth (density of settlement). As C. Norberg-Schultz, the architectural historian, points out, referring to wooden architecture everywhere, log relative to frame construction always remained "primitive"—"in spite of its many fascinating manifestations"—since "log construction obviously does not offer the possibility of structural variation that the frame does. When horizontal logs are laid one above the other, the structure is fixed, and variation can be obtained only through detailing and combination with other types of construction" (introduction to M. Suzuki and Y. Futagawa, *Wooden Houses* [New York, 1979]). Nor is Hewryk rigorously historical in his approach to wooden architecture in the Ukraine. Had he been so, he might have indicated when the "many windows" he finds typical became possible (the introduction of glass) and the iconostasis developed to its full height (in Russian historiography this is said to be an indigenous development of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). He might also have been a good deal less definite in dating many of these buildings to before the eighteenth century (even then!). Surely it was the eighteenth century, rather than the sixteenth or seventeenth, that witnessed the "golden age" of wooden architecture in the Ukraine, to judge from the number, size, variety, and finesse of the monuments that survived, in more or less extensively rebuilt form, for scholars to study.

My comments should not detract in any way from Hewryk's achievement. Apart from everything else, his work rescues the subject from the neglect it has suffered, points up the extent of destruction in the earlier decades of this century, offers a section on wooden synagogues of the Ukraine (all surviving examples were demolished during the German occupation of World War II) and another on Ukrainian wooden churches in North America, and is handsomely produced in large-scale format. Architectural specialists will have to consult this work, and students of Ukrainian social or cultural history would be well advised to do so.

James Cracraft
University of Illinois, Chicago

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Alexander A. Potebnja's Psycholinguistic Theory of Literature

A Metacritical Inquiry

John Fizer

The work of Alexander A. Potebnja, a leading Ukrainian linguist of the nineteenth century, flourished in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union during the first three decades of this century. Potebnja's theory, known as *potebnjanstvo* (Potebnjanism), attracted scores of adherents and gave rise to an influential literary journal and a formal critical school at Kharkiv. Despite his remarkable achievements in linguistics and literary theory, Potebnja's work was officially renounced in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, and in the West he remains virtually unknown.

In his study Fizer carefully reconstructs Potebnja's theory from the psycholinguistic formulations found in his works on language, myth, and folklore. He elaborates the central tenents of Potebnja's theory in regard to their philosophical, psychological, and linguistic bases, and his insightful analysis restores Potebnja to his rightful place in the history of literary criticism.

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